AL FAJR

16 PAGES
IS 100

JERUSALEM

PALESTINIAN WEEKLY

(USPS 686-630

POSTMASTER
Send address changes to:
Al-Fajr
2025 I Street N.W.
Washington, D.C.
20006

exp. 85/04
Serial Records
Harvard College
Cambridge, Mass.

JLY 6, 19
L. V,NO.218

Soldiers Shoot 5 Youth at Bethlehem Roadblock

A routine ID check at a Bethlehem road-block ended in Israeli troops shooting and wounding five Palestinian youths from the Bethlehem area July 3. At least 17 other youths were arrested. One of the injured was a 10-year-old girl, Fatmeh Hussein Ramadan from Dheisheh refugee camp, who was hit in the abdomen by bullet fragments.

Khaled Mahmoud Obeid, 19, Akram Sha'aban Atallah, 23, Mahmoud Mohammed al-Sajadi, 18, and Saber Tayim Zaboun, 21, were all wounded in the legs. All five were transferred to Hussein government hospital in Beit Jala for treatment. Army and police prevented anyone from entering the hospital, even relatives of the wounded.

(Left) Fatmeh Ramadan, 10, lying in Beit Jala's Hussein Hospital. (Right) Saber Zaboun and Mahmoud al-Sajadi exhibit the Israeli soldiers' brutality.

Al Fajr daily reported July 4 that three buses carrying 150 youths left the camp at 6 am enroute to Haifa for a summer outing. A military checkpost near Rachel's Tomb outside Bethlehem brought the buses to a stop. Soldiers ordered the buses to a nearby yard and, for 30 minutes, allowed no one to disembark. An Israeli officer who arrived later on the scene ordered 16 passengers down. The officer harassed the youth by making them alternatively sit and then stand a number of times which caused the youngsters to shout back at the soldiers. Soldiers answered with their guns, wounding five residents.

HaAretz daily, which reported July 4 about the incident, quoted camp residents as saying that the border patrols harrassed them, treated them violently and pushed them with their gunbutts. The Israeli daily also said that the injured youths, now in hospital, will be detained and questioned after their medical release.

In a front-page article Rakah's daily *Al Ittihad* wrote on July 5: "Anger and revenge prevailed in Dheisheh camp as a result of the Israeli occupation authorities' attempts to have the injured youths released from hospital in order to question them.

"The authorities claimed that the doctor-in-charge allowed the release, but the doctor denied the claim. The Israeli occupation forces placed Dheisheh camp under curfew after angry demonstrations erupted in the camp. Soldiers encircled the camp and shot in the air terrorising the camp residents."

In a statement to the press, the West Bank military governorate insisted that soldiers had followed 'normal procedures,' and had first shot in the air, then at the ground to control the group of teenagers. They said the five were wounded "only slightly" by ricochetting bullets.

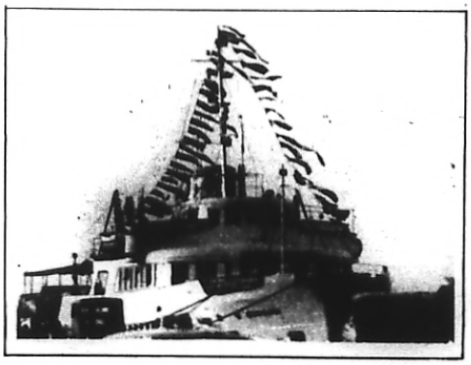
In Dheisheh camp, a curfew was imposed during the night after more than an hour of stone-throwing

5 Pirated Passengers Return to Lebanon; 4 Remain

Five civilians *en route* to west Beirut on a Cypriot ferry and hijacked to Israel by Israeli naval gunboats June 29 were released July 3 after extensive interrogation by Israeli intelligence officers. Four other ferry passengers, whose names have not been disclosed, are still being held in the country in unknown locations. The five who were released said they had been blindfolded and interrogated at length during their stay in Israeli prisons.

The Cypriot ferry, *Alisur Blanco*, with 63 passengers, most of whom were Lebanese, was hijacked early Sunday morning around 3:00 am when a gunboat fired bursts from a machinegun at the civilian ship forcing it to a halt. The hijackers refused to identify themselves and just ordered the ship at gunpoint to follow a given course. It was only when they approached Haifa port that passengers realised that the hijackers were Israelis.

At Haifa more than 150 Israeli soldiers lined the port area awaiting the ferry. The passengers were driven in four buses with shuttered windows to a naval base in Haifa for interrogation.



All passengers were questioned on 'their relationship to the PLO' and on whether they had seen a passenger boarding the ship 10 minutes before it took off. British newspapers announced that the Israelis were looking for a Venezuelan commando mastermind, known internationally as 'Carlos.' Israel, however, denied a report in some newspapers that he was captured on the ship.

In Haifa all passengers were made to stand for mug-shots, with a number stuck on their chests, before the ship was allowed to resume its normal course to Beirut. Two women and seven men were left behind. Five of the nine were returned to Lebanon via the International Committee of the Red Cross July 2. Israel TV broadcast a press conference of the five shortly before they were returned to Lebanon. All were subdued and made only clipped responses to Israeli journalists.

The Cypriot government officially condemned the Israeli action and issued a protest through diplomatic channels. The Lebanese government also denounced the Israeli action and described it as "an act of piracy." Lebanese Minister Salim al-Hoss called the Israeli action "a grave violation of international codes and human rights."

The US administration, on the other hand, declined to condemn the measure on the pretext that they had not yet received Israel's explanation. However, *HaAretz* reported July 3 that a US administration spokesperson asserted the necessity of maintaining free shipping in international waters. The Israeli government described the hijacking of the Cypriot ferry boat as a 'rerouting' measure which was taken for security reasons.

Israel has been involved in similar gross violations of international seas and airspace in the past. The most serious case was the shooting down of a Libyan civilian airliner over Sinai by Israeli warplanes in 1973, killing over 150 people.

(For more see pages 2 and 13)

IN THIS ISSUE

Eyewitness Report of Ship Hijacking ..... p. 2
Galilee Priest Allowed to Travel ..... p. 4
A Case of State Terror ..... p. 5
Progressive List for Peace Looks for a Mandate ..... p. 7
Id al-Fitr Celebrations ..... p. 8
Sufism ..... p. 9
A Terrorist Organisation – As the Law Sees It ..... p. 16

Israeli Death Squads Reported in South Lebanon

An Israeli soldier was seriously wounded in a resistance attack on Israeli occupation troops in Lebanon. Four military attacks took place against Israeli press targets last week while foreign sources reported Israeli 'death squads' are carrying out indiscriminate killing in south Lebanon.

The *Swedish News Agency* reported July 2, quoting Swedish medical teams working for UNIFIL, that Israeli Shin Beth (intelligence) personnel move freely around in south Lebanon, carry out arrests and have been known to execute residents suspected of activity against the Israeli occupation. They cited several incidents in which civilians were killed in the Israeli-occupied zone.

The Israeli soldier was hit June 29 near the village of Saksakaya, 15 kilometres north of Tyre. The attackers reportedly used small arms fire and fled the area before Israeli troops arrived and searched the hills. No arrests were made.

In another attack, nationalist commandos fired two Katyusha rockets towards Israeli settlements in the Galilee panhandle. According to a statement issued by the Palestinian Struggle Front, led by Samir Ghousheh, which claimed responsibility for the attack, the rockets landed in Kibbutz Misgav Am, killing and wounding at least 10 people.

The report was denied by Israeli military spokespersons who claimed that the rockets fell near the Lebanese village of Adaiseh. There have been at least two Katyusha attacks on Israeli settlements in the Galilee during the last month.

In another incident, July 1, light arms fire was directed towards an Israeli position near the village of Kufr Kook in the eastern sector. An Israeli military spokesperson said that the fire came from Syrian lines, and that there were no casualties.

The latest attacks occured on July 4 whre two Isareli patrols on duty in the village of Adaiseh, and in the Tyre region came under small arms fire. Israeli radio which reported the attacks claimed there were no casualties.

The declining number of military attacks against Israeli troops is due to a new Israeli policy to thin-out presence in major south Leabanes cities. While Israeli troops are keeping their positions in the countryside, the Antoine Lahad-led South Lebanese army is taking control of the major cities. The South Lebanese Army have now taken control of Sidon and Tyre and are collecting taxes from importers through the two ports. Israeli radio reported that the SLA is planning to make further deployments in south Lebanon.

Qaddoumi Visits Damascus

The head of the PLO political department and Fatah central committee member, Farouq Qaddoumi, began a visit July 4 to the Syrian Arab Republic to hold talks with high Syrian officials in an attempt to reconcile relations. Qaddoumi is scheduled to meet with Syrian President Hafez Assad, Vice-president Abdel Halim Khaddan and Foreign minister Farouq al Shara'.

Rafiq Shaker Natshe, PLO representative in Saudi Arabia, stated that "Fatah-Syrian relations will soon be normalised " according to AFP. Natshe said that positive negotiations are currently going on between Fatah and Syria. Mohammad Ghneim (Abu Maher) accompanied Qaddoumi and is expected to resume his position as Fatah representative in Damascus according to the same source.

Aernout Van Lynden: 'My Ordeal as Israelis Seize Lebanese Ferry'

The Israelis woke us shortly after 4 am with a burst of machinegun fire over the port bow. The darkness of the night was pierced by a searchlight focused on the forward cabin, where anxious passengers gathered.

Our captain halted the SS Alisur Blanco, a passenger ferry on its way to Beirut from Cyprus, 24 nautical miles from what was to have been its intended destination.

The menacing light out at sea — it was impossible to distinguish from what vessel — began to circle us. Only after an hour was the tension broken when a voice called through a megaphone for the captain to come aft.

There on the choppy water of the eastern Mediterranean began the interrogation which was to take us all, captain, crew, and passengers, to the Israeli port of Haifa and lead to the detention of nine of us.

The seizure of the ship follows a spate of Israeli manoeuvres along Lebanon's coast. On Tuesday the southern ports of Sidon and Tyre were closed and even stricter measures announced for those wishing to travel between the Israeli-occupied south and the rest of the country. On Wednesday night and again on Thursday, a tiny island just off the northern Lebanese port of Tripoli, reportedly used by Palestinian guerillas, was first bombed and then shelled by gunboats.

The capture of the Alisur Blanco by two Israeli gunboats was, however, the first time the Israelis have interfered with civilian ferries since the summer invasion of 1982. Ferries from the Christian port of Jounieh, and for the past month also from West Beirut to Cyprus, have been doing a booming trade since Beirut's international airport closed almost five months ago.

When the captain, 27-year-old Sadi Badran, hurried aft, he was asked: "How many passengers are on board? Of what nationality? How many gallons of fuel and water are on board?" The captain's only question — "who are you?" — was answered by silence.

At 6 am the captain was given a course and ordered to follow. Nothing more — no destination, no reason. Among the passengers the early excitement, the anger of some and the obvious fear of others faded and the mood turned to one of muted acceptance. Most tried to sleep.

At midday Haifa lay before us. "Never in my life had I expected to visit Israel," one of the Lebanese on board said with a smile, trying to make the best of a bad situation. The gunboat continued to circle, its three heavy machineguns trained on the passengers.

At least 150 soldiers and policemen lined the quayside as the ferry tied up, staring with the mocking smile of the victor for the vanquished.

Accompanied by an officer of the Lebanese Christian militia, the so-called Lebanese Forces, the Israelis boarded and we were herded into buses, their windows shuttered.

"Don't worry. Nobody will harm you. You will only be kept a little while and then returned to the ship," an officer told the silent passengers. No one replied.

We were driven into the Naval Training Base of Haifa, to the north of the harbour, and taken into a concrete hall where women and children were separated from the men.

As the only non-Arab, I was taken to another hall. I was asked such questions as: How can I live in 'the terrorist capital of the world' and whether I 'love the PLO?'

For the rest of the passengers life was made rather less pleasant. All had a number stuck on their chest, were photographed and interrogated. One, with an Australian passport, said later "it was as if we were common criminals — first the mug shot and then a lot of questions about our past."

The chief question, which everyone had to answer, was whether they had seen a man board the ship 10 minutes before it sailed from Larnaca. Although the Israelis would only explain the hijacking by saying they had to 'protect our country from terrorists,' the officer in charge of the operation told me they had had a tip about a passenger.

The other motive could only be political — a signal once again to the Lebanese, and Beirut Government — that they are powerless to protect their citizens and must reach agreement with the Israelis on southern Lebanon's future.

Another purpose would have been to frighten would-be passengers not to take the boat from west Beirut but instead travel from Jounieh, which is controlled by the Christian Lebanese Forces, old and trusted allies of Israel.

Nine of the passengers, including two women, were kept in Haifa after the ship was freed.

Back in Haifa farewells were made with a patronising air apologies made for the 'slight inconvenience.'

(Reprint from London Observor 1.7.84)

Fate of Israeli POW with DFLP Unknown

It is still unclear whether Druze prisoner of war Samir Ass'ad Hamoud, who has been held by the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine is still alive or dead. In a statement released in Damascus June 28, the DFLP announced that Hamoud, along with his three guards, was killed during the Israeli air raid on Palm Island, off the Tripoli Coast, June 27.

Sheikh Said Sha'ban, head of the Muslim Unity Movement which is based in Tripoli, was quoted by international news agencies July 3 as saying that the DFLP had no forces on the island and therefore Hamoud could not have been there.

Heads of Arab Druze village councils in the Galilee had earlier called on the Israeli authorities, in a memorandum which was sent to the Prime Minister Yitzhaq Shamir and Defence Minister Moshe Arens to work for the release of the Druze soldier.

Samir Hamoud was apparently captured more than one year ago while doing military service in Lebanon.

The Druze Initiative Committee (DIC) in the Galilee issued a statement blaming Israel for the fate of POW Samir Hamoud, and demanded that they make all efforts to return him to his family whether alive or dead.

The statement read : "In the aftermath of what has been reported about the fate of prisoner Samir Hamoud, we reassert the responsibility of the government of Israel for not returning him safely to his family through a prisoner exchange agreement. Despite the fact that the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine (DFLP), which holds the prisoner, announced that Hamoud was killed in the Israeli air raid, and even though MK Meier Vilner blamed the Israeli government during the Knesset session July 2 for his death, the Israeli government has not released anything about his fate. We demand that they (the government) clarify the situation. We know they have the power through international agencies to check his condition."

Meanwhile, Sheikh Jamal Mu'adi, head of the DIC, sent a plea to the DFLP asking for a detailed statement on the condition of Samir Hamoud, in order to end rumours encouraged by the Israeli government. Mu'adi also asked that the DFLP publish the terms of its conditions for an exchange agreement. (Translation. Al-Itihad July 5, 1984)

Mohammed Mi'ari (right) head of the PLP list, Samih Qasem (left) No 6 on the Front's list.

Peace Lists at War for Palestinian Votes

The Democratic Front for Peace and Equality (DFPE) recently refused an offer by the newly formed Progressive List for Peace (PLP) for a mutual trade of surplus votes in the coming Israeli Knesset elections scheduled for June 23.

Emile Touma, member of the Front's executive and politbureau member of its main faction, the Israeli Communist Party, told *Al Fajr* that the Front will not make any arrangement with the Progressives "that would give them legitimacy." Touma, sceptical that the new list would get the necessary 1 percent of votes necessary for a Knesset seat, said that the DFPE "will not make a deal with a group that works on splitting the Arab vote, fights the Front, supports Camp David and has not rejected the Reagan plan." Touma, who is the editor of *Al Jadid* literary magazine, said that in all of the past years the Front hasn't made any deals with any party and will "not be pressured under a *de facto* situation to deal with the Progressive List," he said. Touma said that the Progressive List should be asked why it has entered the elections and split the Arab vote.

Former MK Uri Avneri, who is co-chairman of the List, told *Al Fajr* that the PLP made an official request in writing to the Front about dispensing surplus votes but that the Front has not answered. Avneri who said that the "Communists have been ineffective in the past 35 years in having an impact on Jewish public opinion" said that, by its refusal, the Front helps the Likud get one more Knesset seat.

According to Israeli Knesset laws, any votes in excess of those required for a whole Knesset seat go to the biggest vote winner unless a previous arrangement has been worked out. Parties which cannot muster the necessary one percent of the votes for one seat lose all of their votes to the biggest vote winner. Touma told *Al Fajr* that if 75 percent of those eligible in the population vote this year, the minimum number of votes for a single Knesset seat would be 22,000 votes.

Most of the smaller Israeli parties reach agreement between themselves to trade surplus votes. The usual arrangement is that the list which wins the least number of excess votes gives its excess to the list with the largest number short of the necessary one percent, provided that the total would be sufficient for a single Knesset seat.

The Progressive List — back in the running after the Israeli defence ministry threatened to ban it, the Central Elections Committee did ban it and then the High Court nullified the banning —is running on a platform of equality for Arabs in Israel, immediate Israeli withdrawal from Lebanon, a negotiated withdrawal from areas occupied in 1967, and the establishment of a Palestinian state alongside Israel and the recognition of the PLO as the legitimate representative of Palestinians.

Since the PLP was formed at the very start of the Knesset election campaign, the Front has accused it of splitting the Arab votes inside Israel. Through its daily organ *Al Ittihad* it went as far as to say that the List orchestrated the Election Committee's ban in cooperation with Israeli intelligence so as to "look good in the eyes of Arab voters." In the Elections Committee, however, the Front representative voted with the minority against the banning of the PLP.

The PLP have also accused the Front of being collaborators with the Shin Bet (the Israeli intelligence service). A news article in *Al Ittihad* quoted a member of the Progressive List, the PLP says incorrectly, at a mass rally that the "PLO has asked them to enter the elections."

The Progressive List for Peace includes the *Alternative* Jewish party with the Nazareth-based Progressive Movement in a joint Arab-Jewish slate. The new list is also using the *Al Tadamon* (Solidarity) publication to wage war on the Front and the Israeli Communist party, Rakah.

The DFPE at present has four Knesset members. They lost one seat in the last election.

Avneri predicted the new Progressive List will win 3 to 5 Knesset seats.

Two Roads Opened, Seven Still Sealed in Dheisheh

The Israeli military authorities reopened an auxiliary road and part of another road leading to Dheisheh refugee camp near Bethlehem June 28, but seven roads, including the camp's two major roads, remain barricaded. Ten roads were closed by the Israeli authorities two years ago to collectively punish the camp's 10,000 Palestinian refugees after stone-throwing incidents increased. The road opening, on the eve of the Muslim *Id al-Fitr*, was apparently among the recommendations of a special committee set up by the Israeli High Court after 20 resident merchants petitioned for court intervention. The committee consists of Israeli officials and the camp's attorney.

A three-metre wide pedestrian road and a one-and-a-half-metre wide side pathway intersecting the main Bethlehem-Hebron road north of the camp were opened. Last month, another side road which had been constructed by UNRWA after the earlier closures, then closed, was reopened.

Felicia Langer, advocate for the Dheisheh merchants in their High Court appeal, told *Al Fajr* that the government promised to reconsider the closure of the roads because they are "planning to build an alternative road that will bypass the camp." Langer said that the committe set up by the High Court visited the camp a month ago. During that visit, she said, "Everyone understood which are the main roads and which are the auxiliary ones." Langer insisted that opening small roads will not stop us or silence us. "We will continue our demands that the main roads be opened."

Journalist's Home Arsoned in Dheisheh

Residents of Dheisheh refugee camp quickly extinguished a fire July 2 set by arsonists around the house of journalist Hassan Abd al-Jawwad, 31. Seven people, including the journalist's three children and his elderly parents, were asleep when the fire was set but all escaped uninjured. The fire was burning on the roof and sides of the house. Neighbours who were awakened by the smoke and flames quickly arrived with buckets of water and brought the fire under control within minutes.

The family said gasoline was apparently used to set the fire. The family also discovered that the arsonists had tried to start a fire in the kitchen, which could have caused more severe damage.

The incident was sharply condemned by camp residents. The Dheisheh Youth Centre issued a statement condemning the incident and calling on the residents to be alert for similar incidents. The voluntary work committees in the camp also condemned the incident. There were several arson attacks on cars last year by still unidentified people.

Hassan Abd al-Jawwad is the correspondent for *Al Sha'ab* newspaper in Bethlehem. He is also the director of the now closed Dheisheh Youth Centre.

Travel Bans Renewed on 7 West Bankers

Four Hebronites (a journalist, a unionist and two university students), two Nabulsis (a lawyer and a journalist) and a Jerusalem unionist were issued orders by the military authorities last week to remain another six months within the borders of their hometowns.

Musa Jaradat, 30, a correspondent for *Al Fajr* daily, and Fathi Abdel Aziz Jaradat, a second-year student at Hebron University, both residents of Sair near Hebron, were ordered June 28 not to leave their village for a second six-month period. The two have to report to the Hebron police station once a week. Hebron University student council member Nazmi Fatafta was put under town arrest July 3. Construction unionist Mahmoud Ziadeh was given yet another renewal of his town arrest which has run consecutively since 1980, interrupted only by a 10-month prison term. Lawyer Ghassan Walid Shaka'a from Nablus was handed the sixth consecutive town arrest order this week. Journalist Mohammed Amireh, *Al Quds* newspaper Nablus correspondent, was summoned to the military governorate and handed the second six-month town arrest order. Amireh was requested to report to the police daily.

Jerusalem unionist Abed Abu Diab was ordered confined to the Jerusalem city limits July 2 for the sixth straight time. He has not been able to leave the city since January 1, 1982. Abu Diab, an accountant who formerly headed the Jerusalem Electric Company's employees' union, told *Al Fajr* that the new order forbids him from leaving Jerusalem during the day and from leaving his house after sunset. He cannot change residences without obtaining prior permission from the police. Abu Diab must report to the Jerusalem police station daily at 8:00 am. According to the town arrest order, police are authorised to come to his house at any time without a warrant to check his whereabouts.

Abu Diab told *Al Fajr* that the Israeli authorities refused him permission to go to Mecca in 1982 for the pilgrimage, to al-Aroub village near Hebron for electric company work in 1983 or to visit his son who is studying at the University of Arkansas.

Out-of-Court Pact Lifts Travel Ban on Galilee Priest

The Israeli ministry of interior agreed to lift a travel ban it imposed on a Greek Catholic priest from the Galilee, rather than explain in High Court the reason for the restriction. The Israeli prosecutor offered to rescind the ban on Father Fawzi Khoury in an out-of-court settlement June 26, the deadline that the court had set for the government to 'show cause.' The agreement, which avoids a legal precedent on travel bans,was hammered out between the prosecution and Khoury's lawyer, Hussein Abu Hussein. Father Khoury has been trying to leave for France since January to resume his theological studies.

According to Haifa advocate Salim Wakim, a member of Khoury's defence team, the Israeli government representative agreed to end the travel ban on July 15 and not to have it renewed. The prosecution also agreed not to impede the Galilee priest from leaving or returning to Israel. Wakim told *Al Fajr* that the agreement was arranged by phone and the two sides will meet June 31 to put it in writing and present it to the High Court for approval. Only then will the petition against the minister of interior, filed by Khoury's lawyer last April, be withdrawn.

Wakim told *Al Fajr* that the Israeli prosecutor feared a High Court's ruling "would have set an important precedent regarding travel bans."

The Greek Catholic patriarchate in Haifa was reportedly 'angry' about the news coverage of the agreement. The Israeli government-owned daily *Al Anba'* reported June 27 that the decision to allow Khoury to travel came through the 'good office' of Gur Arieh, the adviser to Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir. But church officials told *Al Fajr* that Israeli officials refused to meet with the local Greek Catholic chief, Archbishop Maximus Salloum, despite repeated requests over the past month. "They backed down and not as a good will gesture to the church, as their newspaper said," insisted a church source.

Khoury is responsible for foreign relations in Western Europe for the Nazareth-based Education Development Society. The society has tried unsuccessfully to establish an Arab university in the Galilee. Khoury is also responsible for local students sent to Europe on behalf of the Greek Catholic church.

USING STICKS AND TEAR GAS

Assault on Prisoners in Damoun Prison

Palestinian political prisoners in Damoun prison reported that Israeli guards beat them with sticks and bombarded them with teargas June 28.

The Haifa-based *Al Ittihad* daily published a letter smuggled out of the Haifa-area prison detailing the events.

"The prison guards broke into cell 1 using clubs and teargas and beat a number of prisoners. When the smell of teargas reached the main yard we came out to see what had happened. At that time we saw guards beating one of the prisoners from cell 1. We shouted at them to let him go but instead they turned on the alarm system, but we refused to go in.

"The next morning they took seven prisoners and we learned that they planned to transfer them. We demanded that they be returned or else we would declare a work and hunger strike. Two prisoners, Khaled Barghouti and Sami, received head injuries. Barghouti was also seen with a bandage on his forehead."

Hadashot also reported on the incident. The Hebrew daily said that advocate Ibrahim Rashid visited the prison July 1 and was informed of the events of June 28. According to Rashid, an Acre prisoner told him that Khaled Barghouti had a deep cut in his head and that his fingers were broken. The lawyer was not allowed to meet four of the six prisoners held in cell 1. The director of the prison told Rashid that the four had been transferred to another prison, but did not specify which one.

Hadashot said that Rashid sent a complaint to the president of Israel and the prison commissioner demanding an investigation into the actions taken against the prisoners. He demanded to know where the four prisoners are being held.

In Jerusalem, relatives of the prisoners held a protest strike at the Jerusalem offices of the Red Cross July 3 and demanded an end to the inhuman conditions for Palestinian political prisoners. (Translation: Al Ittihad, Al Fajr, Al Sha'ab)

ANTI PRESS CAMPAIGN TAKES VIOLENT TURN

Foreign Press On-the-Job Protest Police Abuse

The Foreign Press Association (FPA) in Israel complained to the Israeli army chief-of-staff June 29 about the military police's violent treatment of journalists covering the Israel-Syria POW exchange on the Golan Heights June 28. Journalists walked away from the scene in protest and refused to file photos with their agencies.

Peter Allen Frost, ABC-TV correspondent and chairman of the FPA, told *Al Fajr* that he received phone calls from member journalists complaining that "in 20 years of service they have never been treated so violently while doing their job."

According to Allen Frost, who was elected one month ago to head the FPA, his complaint was made to the Israeli chief-of-staff Moshe Levy in a hand-delivered letter. He told Levy he was "very perturbed" in regards to excessive violence of the soldiers. He also requested that the army conduct an investigation into the June 28 events. Allen Frost said that he himself is conducting an investigation and will decide the FPA's next moves by July 8, depending on the results of his investigation and the army's response to his letter.

Journalists involved in the violent incident said that they were pushed, physically beaten, and prevented from doing their job despite the fact that they had been invited to cover the event by the Israeli military spokesperson.

Jay Bushinsky, correspondent for *Cable News Network* (CNN), who was one of the journalists at the scene of the exchange, told *Al Fajr* that the military police were "antagonistic." He said that after a three-and-a-half-hour wait the military police "beat, pushed journalists and formed a human barrier making photography impossible." Bushinsky said that the situation was "total disorganisation." Foreign journalists responded to the beatings by leaving the area *en masse* and refusing to supply any photos to their agencies. By the time the military spokesman arrived and scolded the military police for their actions all the foreign journalists had left.

Left: Scene in Tel Aviv
Right: Blackout from Golan

David Rubinger, photographer for *Time* magazine, told *Al Fajr* that the military police were "over-zealous." Rubinger discounted allegations of a political motive behind the ill-treatment of the press. "The press is being pushed around all the time everywhere in the world," he said.

Frost detailed two major complaints "that the airforce base commander in charge refused to allow the selected pool of 20 photographers and journalists to enter the base despite the fact that they were invited by the army spokesperson's office," and that the rest of the journalists who were trying to cover the event from a distance were pushed around and beaten by the military police in a brutal way.

Furthermore, according to journalists' testimonies, high-ranking military officials stood by as the journalists were being beaten. Members of the army spokesperson's office who tried to interfere on behalf of the journalists also received some blows from the military police. Journalists involved in the incident said that military police were making "anti-press comments" in Hebrew. Frost, who personally called the incident "ugly and very unpleasant," said that the claims by the army that the press was "strangling" the Israeli POWs was not correct. "The last POW exchange witnessed more POWs, more journalists and more people; yet there was no problem," he said. June 29 Syria and Israel exchanged prisoners of war. A small number of journalists were allowed into the crossing point for the Syrian prisoners on the Golan Heights. The rest of the journalists covered the arrival of the Israeli prisoners at an airforce base near Tel Aviv.

Exiled Iqrit Villagers Appeal to Election Parties

The forthcoming elections have reawakened calls by the people of Iqrit in the Upper Galilee for a return to their village. An action committee on behalf of Iqrit inhabitants has renewed its activity recently, around what they call 'the last battle of Iqrit.'

Yaqoub Khayat, one of the committee's leaders, said June 25: "We intend to appeal to all the parties and to ask them to study our issue." He recalled that uprooted Iqrit inhabitants have demanded return to their village ever since 1948 when they left at the order of and in coordination with the Israeli army. Return was promised to Iqrit residents immediately after the battles' end. Most of the village inhabitants are Maronite Christians who have family relations with coreligionists in Lebanon. A year-and-a-half ago the inhabitants appealed to the High Court and it decided they should be permitted to return to their village as soon as security circumstances in the north of the country permitted.

"The Israeli army may cooperate with family members in Lebanon and help them. However, we are still refugees," says the committee. "Everyone says that calm and peace has come to the Galilee, but for us the security situation is still not right."

In the 1977 elections campaign, Menachem Begin of the Likud promised Iqrit inhabitants that he would return them to their village. To this date this promise has not been fulfilled. "Following the disappointment from Begin, we have no trust in anyone," says Yaqoub Khayat. "However, we have not lost hope and shall try again during the forthcoming election campaign."

Committee members say that it doesn't matter to them which party rules: "From our point of view, Alignment and Likud are the same. The Alignment blocked us from returning home for 30 years and the Likud, in spite of their election promises, for the last seven years."(Translation: Hadashot, June 26, 1984, by Ya'ir Fidl)

The Dawn

AL FAJR

AL FAJR — Jerusalem Palestinian Weekly

Publisher:
Paul A. Ajlouny
Editor:
Hanna Siniora

Tel: (02) 281035
P.O. Box 19315
East Jerusalem

Telex no.s:
Jerusalem: 26467 omar il
Washington: 64677 omar uw

Al Fajr was founded in 1972 by Yusef Nasr, who edited the paper until his kidnapping in 1974. The English edition was first published in April 1980. **The Dawn (Al Fajr) Jerusalem Palestinian Weekly (UPS 686630)** is published weekly for $50.00 per year by Paul Ajlouny, 16 Crowell St., Hempstead. N.Y. 11550. Second class postage paid at Hempstead, N.Y.

POSTMASTER: Send address changes to Al Fajr 2025 I Street, N.W., Suite 925, Washington D.C., 20006.

A Case of State Terror

Friday June 29 Israeli sea patrols erected a checkpost in international waters, stopped a Cypriot civilian ship and ordered the captain to follow them, eventually to Haifa military port. The 52 passengers of various nationalities who were on board were subjected to a nice taste of Israel — interrogation by the Israeli intelligence services. Passengers, the ship and crew were released in stages, but one week later four of the ship's passengers were still detained. The pretext Israel gave for the hijacking, on the highest offical level, was a 'tip' about a Palestinian who allegedly boarded the ship 10 minutes before leaving Larnaca. Over 10 years ago, Israel intercepted a Beirut-bound plane in mid-air and forced it to land in an Israeli airport. A similar excuse was used at that time.

Not only international seas and airspace have been violated by Israel, but also sovereign states in this area and almost all over the world. Assassinating PLO amabassadors in European capitals, bombarding the Iraqi nuclear reactor near Baghdad in 1981, invading Lebanon in 1982 and raiding Tripoli and a Lebanese island in north Lebanon last week. All under the same guise of, if we are permitted to use Israel's words, "fighting terrorism" — a fight which it has extended to include all anti-Israel actions or feelings, even from victims of the terror state, Israel, itself.

By pretending to do so, Israel has continuously violated international laws and agreements, originally conducted to stop acts of organised terror committed by powerful countries in the world. The international community should interfere to implement its own laws before it becomes too late.

AL FAJR — Jerusalem Palestinian Weekly

SUBSCRIPTION RATES: ONE YEAR: US$50.00

NAME. . . . . .

ADDRESS . . . . . .

ENCLOSED IS A CHEQUE FOR THE AMOUNT . . . . . .

DATE . . . . . .

SIGNED . . . . . .

Mail to:
Al Fajr Palestinian Weekly
PO Box 19315
East Jerusalem
Via Israel

In US:
Al Fajr Palestinian Weekly
2025 Eye St. NW, Suite 925
Washington DC, 20006 USA

US, Israel Join Hands in Paltry Funding of West Ban

by Ghassan Bishara
Our Washington,DC correspondent

A study released in Washington, DC, by Meron Benvenisti's "The West Bank Data Project," under the title *US Government Funded Projects in the West Bank and Gaza*, indicts both the government of Israel, for frustrating efforts of Private Voluntary Organisations as how best to spend American allocated funds in the occupied territories, and the American government for not coming to the aid of these PVOs in their continuous struggle with the Israeli authorities. The conclusions of the well-documented study were found to be fully in harmony with other parties we talked to and who are directly involved with the operations of the PVOs.

The study covers the period between 1977 and 1983, during which all projects, of which there were 358, were submitted by the PVOs, and the total dollar amount involved came from the US Agency for International Development. The government of Jordan, according to the study, supplies matching funds to those advanced by the US government as a last step prior to the beginning of work on the project. Other steps usually are taken, such as by Palestinians who propose certain projects and apply for financial support for them. PVOs which solicitate for AID funds and draw up a proposal; then comes the pivotal role of the Israeli authorities whose approval of all projects is necessary and without which the whole process ends.

The projects, the study concludes, can be grouped into three different categories: economic development, social, educational and charitable projects, and public works. Of the total submitted budget, between 1977 and 1983, only 54.1 percent were ultimately approved by the Israeli government, 32.1 percent were disapproved and 13.8 percent are still pending. In terms of the US dollar amount, the study finds that "the average annual approved budget is US$5.1 million." The actual share of the US funds approved for the same period is concluded to be US$16 million or US$2.3 million per annum. Israel, it should be stated, is the recipient of approximately 50 percent of all US foreign aid. Its share for fiscal year 1985 is US$2.6 billion which will, for the first time, be in the form of grants or non-returnable funds.

Politicising US Aid to the Territories:

It is not very easy at times to actually discern between the US agenda for the territories and that of Israel, though verbal differences can be observed. The study does show that the Israeli authorities, with the prerogative to decide on the future of the proposed projects, make those decisions based on what their own plans are for the West Bank and Gaza, rather than according to the PVO's plan, which the recipient-Palestinians had chosen, supplied by funds from US Aid.

It is the US stated policy, as was articulated by Secretary Shultz, to "improve the quality of life for the Palestinians." The study shows that although 45.8 percent of the budget submitted to the authorities is for economic development or agriculture and industry, the rate of approval here is 30 percent compared with an 80 percent approval rate in water and sewage and a 91.1 percent approval rate in electricity projects and an 80.6 percent approval rate in road projects.

The State department press office answered questions about the Benvenisti report, admitting in fact that the US projects for the territories "increasingly have been oriented towards activities that will contribute to economic development." An observer of the PVO's operations and a frequent traveller to the Middle East, who refused to be identified by name, said, "There is no question that Israel frustrated a certain amount of the assistance" that comes from American sources. This observer added that "projects in the social infrastructure are allowed through...not all of them...those in economic development...are much more likely to be frustrated and many of them are never approved." The form of this refusal, he added, is that the authorities stall them for up to three years, which makes them non-viable. "Once the projects are approved," this observer continued, "...then they do not go forward without considerable harassment."

A State department official took issue with the argument that the US government doesn't use its influence with Israel to promote a particular project, "I disagree entirely," he said, adding that the US continuously discusses PVO's operations with the Israeli authorities, including the Defence Minister himself. The official also said that government officials contact the PVOs daily and discuss "their problems and concerns" which are then conveyed to the Israeli authorities. The official told us he "cannot provide a score card on how many times US officials interfered or what were the results" of these appeals with the Israeli government. The official referred to the statement of the State department press office on April 10 whereby it is agreed that Israel "has not been forthcoming in allowing" such economic development "activities to go forward," and that as a result of "discussing this matter with appropriate Israeli authorities... a number of US funded projects" under Israel review for a time "have been approved."

Since the Secretary showed special interest, the official from the State department said things have improved. He said that the study in question was completed before Shultz made his statement about improving the quality of life for Palestinians in the territories. When the Secretary himself pushes for a certain issue, he functioning in the territories for a very long time, Secretary Shultz came into office only in 1982 — why the interest only since Shultz's 'quality of life statement' was made? Palestinians under occupation, the study argues, can be interpreted as recognition of the failure of a comprehensive solution to the West Bank and Gaza, and as an effort to deal with the individual concern of the Palestinians under occupation. A State department official asked to comment said, "No, absolutely not," and reaffirmed the US commitment to UN resolution 242, Camp David and the Reagan plan of September 1, 1982. Improving the quality of life for Palestinians, he said, means "that Palestinians on the West Bank and Gaza should have a stake in the development of the area in which they live" and to "undertake economic activity on their own initiative." This is only one way of defining a multi-faceted phrase such as that, he said.

AL FAJR invites our readers to contribute letters, articles and opinions. Contributions must be signed, but names may be withheld upon request.

A Clash in the Church

Sir:

In the June 15, 1984 issue of *Al Fajr*, your article entitled "The Armenian Church and Community Politics" presented the facts and the persons in an erroneous and distorted manner. I believe that the intention of the writer was to discredit one of the high dignitaries of our church and to put blame on the persons who do not agree with the situation now prevailing in the Patriarchate.

It is evident that you speak about facts that you did not check and about persons that you do not know. The simple fact that you do not mention the title of 'Archbishop' under the picture of 'Shahe Ajamian' is clear proof of your prejudiced judgement about the reality of facts that you pretend to present.

Let us start from the beginning. I am Ohan Aprahamian, about whom you wrote: "As the Armenian Patriarch was making the customary march in the Old City on Easter Eve, Ohan Aprahamian cursed the Patriarch." The truth is that the 'march' was a religious procession, conducted by the noisy band of the boy scouts. When the procession arrived in front of my shop, I stood up respectfully. The band was making such a noise that it would have been impossible to hear any human voice.

The truth of the matter is that the Patrtiarch issued orders to ban six members of the community from entering the convent, applied to court and obtained an injuction which was later annulled, and was furious. He hired Arab guards to impose his will.

The day after the court decision to annul the injunction, an attack took place on families who were paying a visit to Archbishop Ajamian in his residence. The electricity was cut off, the main gate was closed and police were called in order to assist the families on their way out. We realised later that a beating was planned for that evening and that the Patriarch ordered the closure of the gate, asked the doorman to bring the key to him and instructed the Arab guards to attack the visitors of Archbishop Ajamian on their way out.

On Easter Saturday I went with my wife to pay an Easter visit to her family, who live inside the convent. The Patriarch had given orders to abduct any one of us who dared enter the convent. I did not know. When I was coming out alone, I was abducted by the guards and the deacons, taken by force to the Patriarch's residence, attacked by the Patriarch with a club, accompanied by his accomplice Kazanjian, and then violently attacked by the guards and the deacons until I fell to the ground.

The allegation that I had cursed the Patriarch during the procession was created later to justify my abduction and the attack to which I was subjected because I dared to enter the convent.

What happened the same evening is as follows. Every year the Homenetmen Club organises a banquet celebration on Easter Eve for the Armenian families. Many families from both Armenian clubs attend the joyful evening, which usually lasts until the early hours of the morning when the procession of clergymen proceeds to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre for the night services of Easter. After what happened to me that same afternoon, the persons responsible for Homenetmen went to the Patriarch to make sure that his Arab guards would not disturb the banquet. They were assured by him that the guards would not be seen at the gate of the convent, that nothing would happen to disturb the feast. But, around midnight, rumours started circulating that suspicious elements were massed at the gate and in the Hoyetchmen Club. Mr Takvor Ohannessian called the Patriarch on the phone and asked for an explanation. The latter assured him that nothing would happen. Reassured and calm, some of the families started leaving. The three sons of Mr Takvor Hovhannessian, who are members of the Homenetmen, accompanied a group of their guests to the gate of the convent. Some forty Arabs and deacons, armed with clubs, surrounded them immediately and beat them fiercely. When help arrived, the guards disappeared from a back door and eleven seriously wounded Armenians were taken to hospital by ambulances.

This is what the Patriarch did, this is what is recorded in the police files and this is what the courts are now judging. It was midnight April 21. Archbishop Ajamian arrived from Armenia May 3 over the Allenby bridge.

I do not wish to comment on the behaviour and personality of Patriarch Derderian. The facts are eloquent enough. All I want to assert is that our sad Easter experience cannot be linked with actions taken by the Patriarch against Archbishop Shahe Ajamian, as is written in your article.

The decision taken by the Brotherhood against Archbishop Shahe Ajamian was illegal. It was carried out in violation of the rules and regulations of the Brotherhood. There was no hearing, no case, no grounds for accusation. Rumours were circulated, like the ones mentioned in your articles (the story of a cheque for US$250,000, assets estimated at tens of millions...), which were never investigated or proved. The only serious investigation was made by a committee appointed by His Holiness the Catholicos Vazken I, which established that the Patriarch himself has sold church property in an illegal manner, has appropriated funds, cashed key monies and transferred important amounts abroad to foreign banks. Documents were produced proving that "the sum of US$2,225,561, received by the Patriarch, as detailed in Article XIV and supported by the documents in that article, has not been accounted for or explained by the Patriarch."

The fact is that Archbishop Ajamian holds the office of real estate director, but not its responsibility, for the simple reason that the accounts, contracts, cheques and transactions were in the name of the Patriarch, signed by the Patriarch, under his full responsibility. Archbishop Ajamian never held the office of 'the Church Treasury' as you pretend in your article.

We are surprised that the sources you quote in your article misled you in order to bring you to the conclusion that "the latest round of trouble is the work of Ajamian." If your sources are people like 'Archimandrite Sevan Gharibian,' you better check what you hear from them before putting your signature under their statements. This priest is a bishop defrocked 'in advance' because he was sent by the Patriarch to Etchmiadzine with a certificate to be ordained bishop and came back defrocked for the simple reason that he was found unfit to be elevated to such a grade.

These are the type of people who attack a dignitary like Archbishop Ajamian, who is the official representative of our church to the World Council of Churches in Geneva, a member of its central committee since 1975. he will be leaving for Geneva to go to the meeting of the central committee from July 9 to 19. Archbishop Ajamian hs been a member of the Supreme Synod of the Armenian Church in Etchmiadzine, Armenia, since 1978.

Whatever has happened in the Patriarchate during the last two years was orchestrated by the Patriarch and executed according to his orders by mercenaries paid by him. During the past two-and-a-half years, we have witnessed divisions, scandals, violence and tensions that we never experienced during the previous twenty years.

We are artisans and peaceful citizens trying to make a living for our families. We support the church, the school where our children studied, and our club where we spent all our youth. But since the arrival of Kazandjian and a certain Miss Shahanie Panossian to the Patriarchate, the atmosphere has become poisonous: they surrounded the Patriarch and made him a prisoner. We are in trouble. As Armenians, we feel ashamed that your paper, as well as other papers, write about us in such a disgraceful manner.

Our only hope is that the Patriarch will have the courage to free himself from evil influences and restore the dignity, the peace and the honour of our community.

Ohan Aprahamian
Jerusalem
20 June, 1984

Worship of the Israeli flag starts in the kindergarten.

KG Brainwashing

My four-year-old son goes to a private kindergarten run under the supervision of the Ministry of Education (grade A). The nurse, it seems to me, is a very good one.

The explanations my son gets in the kindergarten about what may be called 'national events,' however, perturb me. I have no doubt that my judgement is influenced by my political views. However, even beyond this or that political variation, I am overwhelmed by thoughts about the nature of the generation of children that is produced by this kind of brain-washing at such a tender age. The central concept around Independence Day was the flag (not, for heaven's sake, an age-suited version about freedom, living without persecution, the importance of consideration for fellow mankind,etc) and the feast was celebrated in imitation of a military ritual. Jerusalem Day, which I would doubt falls under the definition of a feast, was celebrated with explanations about war, enemies, etc. From other mothers I understood that this is an enlightened kindergarten — because there is no mention of Arabs who kill Jews, as happens in other kindergartens of the same age groups.

It is clear to me from the superficial survey that I made that these are the instructions of the Ministry of Education. In spite of my efforts, I couldn't obtain a copy of these instructions in order to understand from them the education they recommend. The idea that most of the feasts are conceptualised by the children as some kind of struggle or war, the fact that the term 'enemies' is predominant (and in many places, therefore, the distinction between ancient Greeks and Egyptians and Arabs is totally blurred), the thought that the essence of the state as homeland is summarised at this age precisely in the flag and the army, provoke restless thoughts.

Sna'it Gissis, Tel Aviv
(Translation: HaAretz, June 19, 1984, letter to the editor)

A Sad, True Story

Letter to the editor:

Your May 15 article about Armenian community affairs was well-balanced and gave an unbiased picture concerning the sad but yet real facts of the whole issue of conflict between various factions of our community.

Neshan Balian

For the first time under Israeli rule, Palestinians inside the 1948 borders have two Palestinian national lists to choose from in the upcoming Knesset elections. Awad Abdel Fatteh writes about local reactions to the new Progressive List for Peace. An elections ban on the PLP was invalidated by a High Court ruling last week.

Progressive List for Peace Looks for a Mandate

The emblem of the Prgressive List of Peace

An independent Arab-Jewish list for the seventh Knesset elections triggered among Israelis billowing controversy from the moment it was first announced late last month. After a lengthy debate in ruling circles and aggressive criticism by extreme right Israeli groups and parties, the Progressive List for Peace (PLP) was banned by the central elections committee June 18, for allegedly violating "the principles on which the state of Israel rests." A week before the ban, Israeli Defence Minister Moshe Arens met with a delegation representing the list after hearing from intelligence circles that the list consists of "Palestinian subversive elements who don't recognise the state of Israel." Arens asked members of the list questions about their political opinions and their view of the Jewish state. All members of the delegation — Jewish and Arab — declared their recognition of the state of Israel, and that they call for the establishment of a Palestinian state alongside Israel. After the defence minister perused the information presented by the intelligence circles, he decided not to outlaw the association since its political platform did not "deny the existence of Israel." According to *Yadiot Ahranot*, June 8, the main indictments from the secret service report were the allegation that the list was initiated in coordination with the PLO, and that the head of the list, lawyer Mohammed Mi'ari, was a former member in *al-Ard* movement, a Palestinian nationalist movement which was outlawed in 1964 by the Israeli authorities.

The banning of the list surprised liberal Israelis as well as the Palestinian community. The surprise stems from the fact that the list, which adopts a two-state solution, consists of three Israeli peace activists, one of whom was a general in the Israeli army. "Democracy was killed yesterday," Mattityahu Peled, No. 2 spot on the list, said and added that the allegation of the Israeli authorities that there are 'subversive' elements in the list is "a big lie."

For the first time in 36 years, the Palestinian comunity in Israel could have had the alternative — other than the Israeli Communist party — of voting for an independent party. This new election Arab-Jewish list not only caused a stir within Israeli circles and the news media, but also aroused interest and a clash of opinions among the Palestinians in Israel. Almost all lists which ran for the municipal elections against the Democratic Front for Peace and Equality in the Palestinian villages and towns united to back this list.

The Progressive List for Peace was initiated by a group of Palestinian intellectuals and prominent Israeli peace activists such as Peled, a member in the Israel-Palestine Peace Council, Yaacov Arnon and former MK Uri Avneri. But the most suspicious figure, apparently, in the view of Israeli circles, is Mohammed Mi'ari, the first on the list, because of his past role in the banned *al-Ard* movement.

The PLP was a serious rival to the Democratic Front for Peace and Equlality (DFPE), which is dominated by the Israeli Communist party, the only independent party in the Arab sector since the establishment of Israel. In the last ten years, the DFPE has shown by far the greatest strength among the parties which have contested for the votes of Palestinians. It has consistently won more than 50 percent of the Palestinian vote. The other parties which competed for votes in the Palestinian community were all lists associated with Zionist parties but including Arab names as 'cover.' But after national and political consciousness among Palestinians in Israel grew and became well-articulated after international recognition of the PLO following the 1973 war and the Israeli escalation of land confiscation, especially in the heavily populated Galilee, the number of Arab votes for Zionist parties dropped sharply. Because the Communist Party was the only party which defended the interests of the Palestinian community and supported the struggle of the Palestinian people, the percentage of voting Palestinians who chose Rakah jumped from 37 percent in 1973 to 54 percent in 1977. However, many of the non-Communist voters of the Communist party continued to hope for a more radical strategy or a national Arab party, with or without the Communist ideology.

The Communist party spared no effort, therefore, in putting down a serious rival and besmirching the reputation of the list and its leaders, in particular lawyer Mi'ari. Its daily organ, *Al Ittihad*, was instrumental in the intense campaign of creating doubt about the aims of the list. At the same time the list was being attacked and incited against by Israeli circles and the press, which won it more publicity, and, ironically, more support.

One of the most important points on which the Communist party concentrated in the campaign against the list is that almost all the leaders of the list, including Mi'ari, approved of the Camp David accords which the Palestinian people were virtually unanimous in rejecting. *Al Ittihad* and Communist party activists and supporters also used the argument that the PLP would scatter and de-emphasise the votes of the Palestinians in Israel. Communist party leader Emil Tuma wrote in *Al Ittihad* that the PLP harmonised with the goals of the Israeli authorities "who have been conspiring against the Palestinian Arab minority." He quoted Shmuel Toledani, a former adviser on Arab affairs for the Prime Minister's office, that the list would not win the minimum percentage for representation in the Knesset, and that the votes which would go to this list would be diverted from Rakah, thus reducing the Communist Party's voice in the Knesset. Despite its opposiiton to this list, the Communist party condemned the banning order against it, "because it violates basic democratic rights."

Uri Avneri with Mohammed Mi'ari in the High Court in Jerusalem.

However, the leaders of the list view things differently. Mahmoud Sa'id Na'amneh, the former head of Arrabeh local council in the Galilee, and a candidate for the PLP list, said to *Al Fajr* that, rather than waste votes of the Palestinians, the list "would have mobilised many people who are indifferent or who have resorted to voting for Zionist parties." He also admitted that many of those who currently vote for Rakah would have turned to the list, if it succeeded in running for the elections, and that they would have at least two seats.

From left: Yacov Arnon, Avneri, Arafat Mattityahu Peled and Issam Sartawi. A memorial photo was taken in Jan. 1983.

According to Na'amneh, the Palestinians in Israel have always looked for a true independent list which is not related to any party, and they found an answer in this list. He, like the other list leaders and supporters, expressed vociferous resentment at the "hostility which the Communist party has shown."

Some Palestinians had decided to vote for the list for its novelty as a new independent list and for the reputation of Mi'ari as a former member of the nationalist *al-Ard* movement had wide support among Palestinians before its banning in 1964. "Mi'ari is 'clean.' He was in *al-Ard* movement, and he is not a Communist," one of the supporters of the list from Sakhnin village said. But a DFPE supporter wondered aloud: "Why should Mi'ari withdraw from the DFPE and choose to divide our people into two camps. I think he is an opportunist who wants to have a seat in the Knesset." He added that Mi'ari "sold himself out, conceded his principles" to be on the list.

When Mi'ari was asked by Avneri's *Al Hamishmar* how he explained the sudden change in his political outlook which had called for a democratic secular state as the solution of the Palestinian cause, he answered, "I have become politically mature." To Arens, Mi'ari said that he considers himself both a Palestinian and an Israeli citizen and that the institutions in Israel represent him.

The Stand of the Radical Groups

Although the Palestinian radical groups, such as *Abna' al-Balad*, *al-Nahda* and the progressive national movement, which all work together, have not issued an official stand, they have spoken out against the list as being to the right of the Communist Party. Those who boycott the elections don't believe that the list reflects the aspirations of the Palestinians within the 1948 borders of Israel. "The PLP," said an *Abna' al-Balad* activist, "consists of people who have rightist directions. They are against socialism and are hostile to the Soviet Union." He added that this list represents or is an extension of the thinking of the Palestinian and the Arab right outside, and "it is no accident that Jordanian TV has been speaking in favour of the list since it appeared."

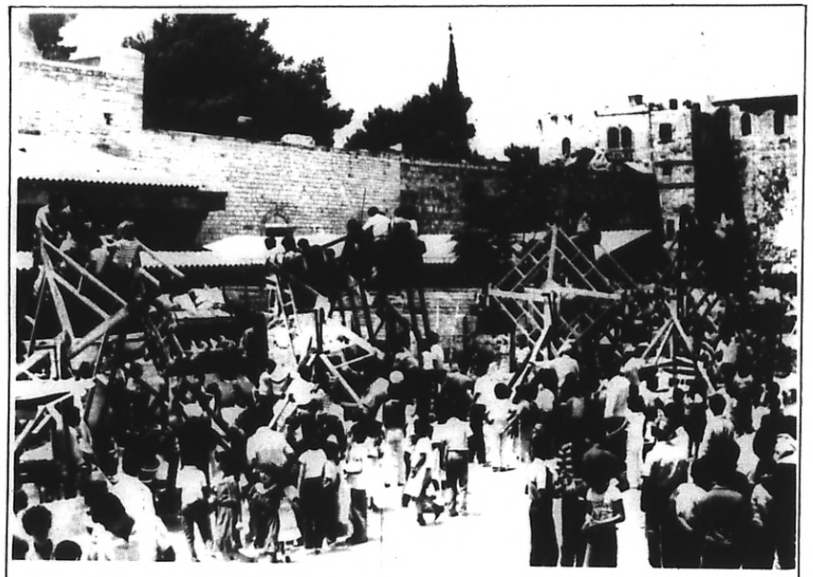
Ali Samneyya, another leader of *Abna' al-Balad*, said he believed that the PLP list is interested in joining a Labour government, if it wins in July, to serve as a pressure group within Labour for some settlement "which the Palestinian right and the Jordanian regime talk about from time to time." He indicated that Jordan's King Hussein has already openly expressed the hope that if Labour wins there will be more possibilities of peace.

Other Abna' al-Balad activists believe that the list's leaders, who all supported the Camp David accords when they were signed (the three Israeli members of the list still support Camp David), would not hesitate to support any other future settlement which does not include even the minimum demands of the Palestinian people.

Other *Abna' al-Balad* activists believe that the list's leaders, who all supported the Camp David accords when they were signed (the three Israeli members of the list still support Camp David), would not hesitate to support any other future settlement which does not include even the minimum demands of the Palestinian people. "This is why," said one, "we still see ourselves closer to the DFPE than to the PLP, but this does not mean that we will vote in the elections." *Abna' al-Balad* strongly condemned the banning of the list as a "fascist step." They believe that this measure is directed against the Palestinians in Israel and is an attempt towards denying their right for political struggle and organisation.

Everyone loves a holiday and Muslims in Jerusalem celebrate theirs — in this case *Id al-Fitr* — like people everywhere: with food, visits and rare relaxation. Daoud Kuttab writes about the scene last week in Jerusalem, where politics was just below the surface.

Time Out for a Feast



Muslims celebrating the first day of *Id al-Fitr* June 30.

Ten-year-old Mahmoud was pushing his way up to the front. With a 50 shekel coin clutched in his right hand, Mahmoud wanted to participate in the toy raffle on Jerusalem's Wad street in the Old City. When Mahmoud reached the front, the man behind the makeshift table presented Mahmoud with a jar full of folded papers. Mahmoud reached out and pulled a number. The table in front of the young boy was packed with brown paper bags, each with a number on it and a plastic toy inside. Mahmoud's gift bag contained a plastic barette. The merchant looked down at the boy dressed in his holiday best and offered the consolation, "Well, you can give it to your mother or sister."

Jerusalem's streets were chock full of darting boys and girls like Mahmoud, June 30, the beginning of the three-day *Id al-Fitr* and the end of the month-long *Ramadan* fast. Although Muslim kids in Saudi Arabia, Syria and Lebanon had already celebrated the *Id* one day before, Jerusalemites, as well as the rest of the occupied territories, had to wait until Muslim officials in Jordan announced over radio and television the first day of the holiday. By religious tradition the month of *Ramadan* ends and the month of *Shawwal* begins when the new crescent moon is witnessed by at least two persons willing to swear to the fact before a Muslim *Qadi* (judge).

Palestinian Muslims living in pre-67 Israel also celebrated the holiday a day earlier, following Saudi Arabia's determination of the beginning of the new month.

Next to boys like Mahmoud Jerusalemite girls dressed in blue, white and pink dresses roamed in small clumps through the streets of the Old City. Holding hands with their father or older sister, the girls oped and awed loudly at the site of every toy, dress, or drink which lined Jerusalem's streets. With most of Jerusalem's shops closed business was brisk for street vendors who hawked food, toys, and clothes at the entrance area to Damascus Gate. The site of the old-style market vendors at the manicured and renovated Damascus Gate must surely have been unpleasant *deja vu* for the Western Israeli architects and planners who had tried to obliterate such a site for the entrance to the Old City.

At about 11:30 am street vendors, however, had to make room when boy scout troupes marched into Jerusalem. The baton-twirling, durm-beating and *kafiyah*-dressed scouts made a triumphant entry into the Old City and headed for al-Aqsa Mosque. The red, green, black and white banners proudly wrapped around each scout did not phase on-duty policemen who were forced to close off Jerusalem traffic to make way for the new generation of Palestinians who are joining scout groups in record numbers.

Outside the Old City, smartly dressed young men proudly walked the streets, many sporting lit cigarettes which had to be smoked in hiding during the month-long fast. The young men, many dressed in brown, black and beige pants with matching vests, suit jackets and ties, despite the hot June weather, were headed for East Jerusalem's three cinemas.

The run-down cinemas which have been losing customers to TV and video were cleaned and ready to accept the young crowds for the *Id*. One cinema opened its doors for the first time in months to take advantage of the entertainment-seeking youths. The cinema-goers were not really interested in what movie was playing or how good it was, they sought the dark, the cool, and the camaraderie. They were only given a choice of an Egyptian soap opera, a Japanese *karate* movie (starring Bruce Lee) or an Indian love story.

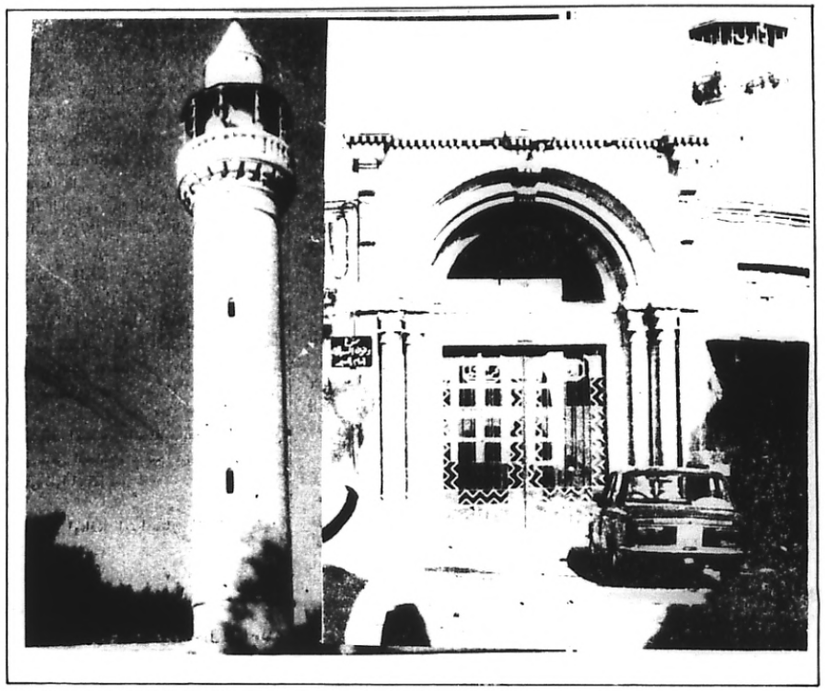
Family visits

Older folk, of course, do not gamble for toy prizes or go to the movies. They visit. Each family puts on their best, if not newest clothes, with most men in full three-piece suits (maybe not used since the last *Id* or relative's wedding) and women who are fortunate put on their newly-bought dresses. Nouveaute shops stay open the day before the holiday until midnight to take last minute orders for holiday clothes. The well-dressed families normally make their visitation rounds to relatives and friends. Usually the younger visit the older and those living in the outlying districts visit those in the cities but often visitors miss each other with everyone out visiting the other. During the visits, the men traditionally give their sisters, whether married or not, gifts of money and drink coffee, tea, cold drinks, fruits and sweets at every home. In the evening the entire family convenes for a big dinner with large doses of meat or chicken, rice and nuts. Affluent families often kill a sheep or a cow they fattened during the previous months.

The celebration atmosphere lasts several days. Officially the *Id* is a three-day holiday. Local newspapers do not appear and most offices and businesses remain closed at least two days. Transport vehicles stay moving, however, but there are fewer cars and buses on the road because of villagers desire to stay in their villages.

Sufis represent perhaps the smallest Muslim grouping in the occupied territories. Said al-Ghazali takes away some of the mystery as he introduces readers to some of Sufism's basic tenets.

Sufism - Mystical Cult or Charismatic Islam



On Friday and Monday nights, bearded Sufis in *jalabiat* (long white dresses) find their way to the prayer rooms in the Afghan and Me'thana Hamra Mosques in the Old City of Jerusalem for ceremonial worship. They perform prayers, ritual dances, and recite Sufi poems. They repeatedly call out the name of God and read parts of the *Quran*. At the end of the session, which can last up to four hours, everybody kisses each other's hand and then leaves the mosque. Sheikh Abdel Karim Afghani is the leader of the Sufi group at Afghan prayer room.

According to Afghani followers, Sufism is the science of purifying the heart from greed, pride, hatred, deception, etc. "It is the science of ethics in which Sufis are taught to devote themselves to actions, social activities, existence for the sake of God," is how one Sufi described it.

Sufis believe that most people live in self-deception — they are proud, greedy, authoritative, self-interested, etc. — and therefore need a sheikh who has studied the *Quran* and the *Sunna* (sayings) of the prophet Mohammed to cure themselves of illness.

Sheikh Hassan, a young man in his twenties, studied Islam at university in Saudi Arabia and now lives near al-Aqsa Mosque. He is a zealous Muslim who supports Sufism but refuses to select one particular sheikh to follow. He told *Al Fajr*: "I respect all sheikhs of Sufism I have met. However, I do not share with them all their ideas about Sufism. Before my graduation, I used to follow my uncle who is a Sufi sheikh. He now lives in Amman. Hassan, who wears a *jalabia* and has kept a beard, has not been able to find a job in Islamic or educational institutes since his graduation in 1983. Hassan mentioned a number of prayer rooms in Jerusalem, such as Bukharian, Naqshebandian, and Indian, in which Sufis used to hear sheikhs before 1967. He also noted the existence of many Sufi schools such as *Qaderia, Shathelia, Alawia, Refaia, Khalwatia, Tejania, Melawea* and others. "The difference between one school and the other has been based only on methods of teaching," Sheikh Hassan said. The schools were named after their founders and followers spread in all Arab and Islamic countries. In Jerusalem, they follow the instructions of Ahmad Ben Mustafa Alawi from Algeria. His teacher is Sheikh Mohammed Bu Habib Bu Zaidi and the tree of teachers continues until it reaches followers of Mohammed in the seventh century. Mohammed Hashemi Talmasani from Algeria got his licence to be a sheikh from Alawi and Abdel Qader Issa from Aleppo in Syria, who followed Talmasani. Sheikh Hazem Abu Ghazaleh from nablus and Sheikh Yaqoub Qirresh from Jerusalem became Sufist sheikhs and took lessons from Adbel Qader Issa. Qirresh was exiled from the West Bank by the Israeli authorities after he was convicted of membership in an illegal organisation in 1979.

According to Sheikh Hassan, Sheikh Abdel Qader Issa had thousands of followers in Aleppo to whom he preached revolution against the Syrian government. He later escaped to Saudi Arabia. It was Abdel Qader Issa whom Sheikh Hassan learned from. The brother of Sheikh Hassan is a nationalist who is a senior student in the medical and nursing college in al-Bireh. He used to be a Sufist when he was 17 and knows the basic principles of Sufism. However, he decided after two years to abandon Sufism because he could not accept the absolute authority of a sheikh. "My ideas about life were influenced by my traditional family," he said. "I also was curious about Sufism. When I read secular and national books and met nationalists, I immediately stopped being a Sufist."

The Dance of Sufism

After evening prayers in the Old City on Fridays and Mondays, Sufists come to their prayer room and sit in a circle. They recite religious slogans out loud: "There is no god but God," "God performs prayer and salutes our prophet Mohammed," "I beg pardon from God." They repeat each one 100 times. The Sheikh then reads three times: "Say: 'Allah is One, the eternal God. He begot none, nor was He begotten. None is equal to Him.' " After finishing, they read *Surat al-Waqi'a*, "That Which is Coming." One starts reading religious poems, other Sufis repeat after him. One may recite, for example: "O God, You are the benefactor, the giver of donations, I will not depart from Your gate. All people made their pilgrimage and fulfilled their wishes and I made a pilgrimage but I did not fulfil my wish."

After spending one hour reading poems, the sheikh lectures on Sufism and Sufis. By the end, he starts intoning in a low voice, "*Allah, Allah, Allah...*" The group repeats, "*Allah, Allah, Allah,*" and continues for more than 10 minutes. With time they pronounce only parts of the word "*Al...*" "or "*A...A...A....*" They move their bodies, heads and hands in a trance-like motion. Some of them might turn themselves around, some become faint which is said to mean contact with God.

They continue their prayer dance until the prayer of *Eshaa* (night) and after prayer performance they drink tea and repeat the dance or read only religious poems. At the end of this ceremonial session, they exchange kisses on their hands without regard to their different ages. Sufis explain the literal meaning of Sufism in Arabic as "the purification or serenity of heart."

Sheikh Mohammed is a teacher of mathematics in a secondary school in Jerusalem. He was described by other Sufis as a person of deep knowledge. One of the closest students of Yaqoub Qirresh, he served two years in Israeli prison for membership in an illegal organisation. "The real Muslim is a person with a good heart and good actions," he said. "In the second century (according to Islam), after the prophet Mohammed left Mecca for Medina, Muslims grew away from Islam because of their involvement in life and its materialistic activities. The definition of a Muslim was no longer applicable to them. Some 'good' Muslims began preaching the spiritual aspects of Islam. Any Muslim has to choose his sheikh whose conduct in life is modelled on the *Quran* and the *Sunna* of the prophet."

Sheikh Na'im, an Imam of prayers in a small mosque in the Old City of Jerusalem, noted that just as each age is plagued by special diseases which require medical treatment, so teachers of Sufism use various methods of teaching to fight against diseases which separate Muslims from Islam; the role of a sheikh is similar to the role of a physician, he said. Na'im noted that the *Alawia* school of Sufism can be seen in Hebron, Nablus, Gaza and Acre. He criticised one sheikh from Zaita in Nablus district for imitating old Sufism which exaggerates the worship of God.

Sheikh Hashem Baghdadi from the Mount of Olives in Jerusalem is an Imam of Salman Farsi Mosque and the head of the *Qaderia* school. He has many followers. His primary focus is to implement Islam; he does not teach his followers to perform Sufi dances, *Halaqat Thear*. One of his students, Mohammed Abu Laban, who is a vegetable seller on the Mount of Olives, said: "Sufism means the implementation of the *Quran* and *Sunna* and good ethics. It is impossible for us, living in this materialistic civilisation, to reach the rank of Sufis. The road of Sufism is very long." Abu Laban criticised ceremomial Sufism. He said that it is not preferred that Sufis move while reciting names of God. "However," Abu Laban added," if the Sufi can not control the movements of his body or shaking, then it is done for the sake of God."

"Islam is a comprehensive and coherent doctrine. There is no need to say that Sufism is the spiritual aspect of Islam," 'Abu Laban noted. "In the *Quran* we find many verses against pride, greed and all kinds of evil," he stressed.

Sheikh Mohammed, who does not wear Sufi dress, nor grow a beard, listed what he considers are main diseases of the twentieth century: the flood of desires to satisfy the body which destroys the heart's goodness, the love of wealth, fame and status, the lack of courage to criticise the one who governs, the lack of interaction between people and the *Quran*, the affect of socialism, communism and nationalism on peoples, the inability of people today to perceive and imitate the prophet Mohammed's way of life and description of Islamic thought as a reactionary defender. "Sheikhs must use effective and proper methods to attract people to Islam and to teach them the principles of Sufism," Sheikh Mohammed noted.

Basic Principles of Sufism (from *Facts of Sufism* by Abdel Qader Issa)

Sufism appeared as a response to materialism two centuries after the emergence of Islam. Throughout history, Sufi Islam was mixed and affected by other beliefs in India, such as Buddhism and Hinduism. They attribute the fact that some Sufis used musical instruments in their chants to this 'borrowing.' Sufis refuse this connection and call those who try to prove it distorters of Sufism. They say that orientalist researchers (such as the former head of the Israeli 'civil administration' in the West Bank, Professor Menahem Milson) are enemies of Sufism. Sufis encourage people to search for a sheikh who has inherited the *Quran* and the ethics and beliefs of Mohammed. If any person does not find his sheikh in his country, he has to look for him in another country. He asks help from God to find his sheikh.

Who Is the Advisor?

The sheikh or the adviser is a person who has learned Islam's principles and perfectly imitates Mohammed's actions. He must have his training and knowledge from another sheikh who can bestow a licence, *Ijazeh*. The follower swears before his sheikh to follow him on his road and to remain faithful to the path of Islam.

According to Sufism, Islam has three levels: the performance of the five pillars — prayers, fasting, pilgrimage, giving alms and to believe that there is no god but God and Mohammed is his prophet; the faith which is to believe in God, his books, his prophets, his angels, and the day of the resurrection; and *Ihsan* ('beneficence') which is to worship God as if you see him and if you do not see him he sees you.

The Relation between the Follower and his Sheikh

The follower has to surrender completely to the will of his sheikh like the sick person to the doctor. he should not object or critise him. If he wants to ask a question, he must do so with politeness. The follower should be polite at all times and humble with his colleagues.

Fight the Self

The Sufi wages a strong fight against his desires. He can master and control his desires by mentioning the name of God in secret and in public, alone or in a group. He must mention the name of God at all times and occasions.

Khelwa

Khelwa is a temporary halt in work and activity on certain days and months in the year. The follower has to go to a mosque or a prayer room in which he must follow instructions of his sheikh and perform prayers and mention the name of God. In this period, he has to tell his sheikh about his feelings and any change in his emotions.

June 26, 1984, 26 days before the Knesset elections in Israel:

JERUSALEM — 8:58 am: It's already hot. Not many people are standing at the city bus stop near the West Jerusalem central bus station. A half-empty No 23 bus arrives and some of the waiting people approach it to board.

(Hebrew)*Do you go to* (Arabic) *Bab al-Amud?*, asks an older man wearing a *jalabiya* and *kafiya*.

No! says the driver of the bus (registration No 86157).

The man moves away from the bus, looking for another way to get back to his home in East Jerusalem.

I step onto the bus, which I know goes to East Jerusalem, but I don't know where it stops there.

(Hebrew) *Do you go to* (Hebrew) *Sha'ar Shechem?* I ask, 10 seconds after the other man's question.

Yes! is the driver's answer and my ticket is punched.

The bus runs down Jaffa Street to its very beginning on the hill near the Old City wall. Between Jaffa Gate and New Gate it turns northeast. It stops near New Gate, then it runs along the Old City wall, passes the crowds at Damascus Gate and stops again somewhere between Damascus Gate and Herod's Gate. Three stops farther, on Salah al-Din street, it joins Line 27 that also takes passengers from the West Jerusalem central bus station. Maybe that older man will arrive after a while at that stop.

A little vocabulary lesson should help you understand the significance of this stupid little story:

English	*Hebrew*	*Arabic*
Jaffa Gate	Sha'ar Yaffo	Bab al-Khalil (Hebron Gate)
New Gate	Sha'ar Hadash	Bab al-Jadid (New Gate)
Herod's Gate	Sha'ar Haprahim (Flowers Gate)	Bab al-Zahre (Flowers Gate)
Damascus Gate	Sha'ar Schechem (Nablus Gate)	Bab al-Amud (Pillar Gate)

I didn't notice these similarities and differences until this little incident occurred; however, a bus driver is surely much more experienced and, as a public servant, should also be much more informed and kind. When I told a friend of mine this anecdote, she told me one of her own: "I was in the Tel Aviv central bus station on my way to visit Gaza. Naturally, I approached the information booth —

'Can you tell me, please, where is the bus for Gaza?'

'What?!' said the man in charge of information, in an exclamation both of shock and warning.

I repeated my question, and the man continued, without answering me.

'Are you alone?'

'Yes,' I said, 'why?'

'You shouldn't go there alone, it's dangerous!'

'But why?' — I insisted.

'It is full of Arabs there,' the man almost shouted at me.

'So what,' I said, 'I'm an Arab!'

'I am sorry,' the man began, trying to overcome his embarrassment. 'I didn't know, you are so nice looking. Anyway, I don't know where the bus for Gaza is....' "

My friend is indeed a very 'American Jewish-looking' young woman, who is simply not used to the atmosphere of fear in which people in this country are used to living. She finally found someone who told her that there are no buses to Gaza and that transportation is only by Gaza taxis which operate from Jaffa — 'because the people who go to and come from Gaza are only the workers from the Gaza Strip, certainly not tourists.'

My conclusion from such incidents is that people live in conceptual confusion that causes trouble. Indeed, the information desk man was correct; he didn't know about any bus because none existed. As for danger in Gaza, probably he used to walk around there gunned to his teeth, so wouldn't he feel danger?

Not Only A Smile

Conceptual Confusion

This reminds me of another conceptual confusion. The ruling Likud party in Israel advertised widely in the press that King Hussein, Chairman Arafat, Bethlehem Mayor Elias Freij, and Austrian ex-Chanceller Bruno Kreisky support the Alignment in the forthcoming Israeli elections. They thought the Alignment would lose by this since many Israelis don't like these figures. The Alignment itself indeed seems to have been insulted. In order to show its true face to the Israeli public, it began last Friday June 22 to publish one-page advertisements as below:

המערך אומר:

לא

לא חזרה לגבולות 67'
לא עקירת יישובים
לא משא ומתן עם אש"ף
לא מדינה פלשתינאית

כן

כן מדינה יהודית דמוקרטית
כן גבולות בני הגנה
כן ציונות אחראית
כן שלום ובטחון

אמת

המערך הוא התקווה היחידה.

THE ALIGNMENT SAYS:

NO

* NO TO RETURN TO THE 1967 BOUNDARIES
* NO TO UPROOTING SETTLEMENTS
* NO TO NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE PLO
* NO TO A PALESTINIAN STATE

YES

* YES TO A JEWISH DEMOCRATIC STATE
* YES TO DEFENDABLE BORDERS
* YES TO RESPONSIBLE ZIONISM
* YES TO PEACE AND SECURITY

THE ALIGNMENT IS THE ONLY HOPE

המערך אומר:

כן

למבצע שלום הגליל

כן,לשקט ובטחון לתושבי הגליל
כן,לסילוק המחבלים ונשקם מגבול הצפון
כן,להחזיר את צה"ל הביתה

לא

לתסבוכת בלבנון

לא,לפאשלה של "סדר חדש" בלבנון
לא,לפלונטר של ביירות-בחמדון-שוף
לא,לשהייה ארוכה של צה"ל בבוץ הלבנוני

אמת

המערך הוא התקווה היחידה.

THE ALIGNMENT SAYS:

YES

* YES TO THE PEACE FOR GALILEE CAMPAIGN
* YES TO CALM AND SECURITY FOR THE GALILEE RESIDENTS
* YES FOR THE EVICTION OF THE TERRORISTS AND THEIR ARMS FROM THE NORTHERN BORDER
* YES FOR THE RETURN HOME OF THE ARMY

NO

* NO TO THE MUDDLE IN LEBANON
* NO TO THE FAILURE OF THE 'NEW ORDER' IN LEBANON
* NO TO THE CONFUSION OF BEIRUT-BHAMADUN-SHUF
* NO TO THE PROLONGED PRESENCE OF THE ARMY IN THE LEBANESE QUAGMIRE

THE ALIGNMENT IS THE ONLY HOPE

Within three days the ad had run in all the Hebrew Israeli newspapers (and noticeably not in the English-language *The Jerusalem Post*, which supports the Alignment). June 26 another public disclosure of Alignment policy appeared:

Maybe that is the reason that on June 25 we could read in the press: The Socialist International hopes for an Alignment victory. The statement related to deputy-prime minister candidate Abba Eban, who returned from a conference of the International in Sheffield, England, quoting the British Labour Party leader, who hoped for the victory to go to the Israeli Labour Alignment. Eban quoted the British figure as saying that the Alignment victory would be ar important factor in the peace process in the Middle East and will contribute to world peace.

Does the International really know what it is speaking about and with whom it speaks? I'm embarrassed. I wonder, reading the above information, would it make Neil Kinnock embarrassed? What will he do about it?

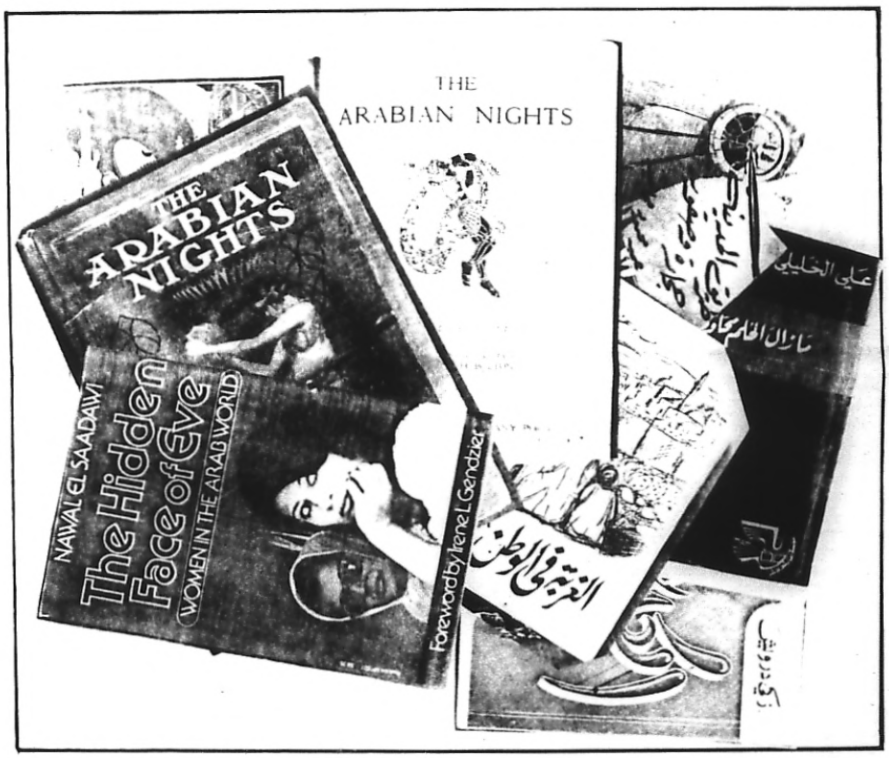
Don't tell me I'm mixing small points with big ones. I do it deliberately because life goes on here and it is the people on buses and in taxis who are living it.

With a smile

Translated from *Al Fajr al-Adabi*. Qostandi Shomali teaches Arabic Literature at Bethlehem University.

Arabic Literature And Its Universality

By: Dr Qostandi Shomali



When literature emerges beyond its national borders to pursue what is new and useful, it leads to universality. This phenomenon, understood in comparative literature, is different from the notion of world literature, where it means that literature should be united in literary genre, artistic origin and human aim. This is simply not possible since literature is a response to self-interest and personal, intellectual and social needs, local and national.

Literature's emergence from national borders depends on the concern of writers to provide conditions for awakening in their literature. Otherwise it stands in isolation from other literature with which it should become connected through the best of writers who adopt whatever fulfills their intellectual and artistic needs.

Imitation occurs through sufficient example without a sense of submission or mimicry, and through study and guidance by the national literature in a way compatible with its inclinations and instincts.

This emergence of literature past its national borders is aided by the feeling among the gifted that their national literature no longer meets the requirements of their time. So they take from the literature of other nations whatever suits their desire for renewal. Migration, wars and invasions often help in strengthening the ties between national literature and the literature of other nations affected. This leads to mutual influence. The tendency of writers to read other literature in their own language, and to be acquainted with the masterpieces through translation, newspapers, magazines or books on criticism, encourages literary links. A man-of-letters may migrate to another country. He will write about it and get acquainted with the customs and traditions of its people. This intermingling with the literary figures in that country will influence him and he, in turn, will convey his impressions to his own country.

The book *Kalilah Wa Dumnah* in Arabic literature was among the first to be translated; first into Persian, and later into several other languages. The French poet La Fontaine (1621-1695) was influenced by this book and he excelled in drawing and developing the characters in the stories he addressed in the book. Reports of lovers were famous in the Abbassad period in the pre-Islamic and Islamic Periods; stories such as *Majnain Lailah*, *Umar Ibn Abi Rabiah*, *Jamil Buthainah*, *The Romans of Antara* and *The One Thousand and One Nights*, whose origin lies in the Indian and Persian folktales entitled *One Thousand Fables*, *One Thousand and One Nights* It was borrowed from the late third Century A.H., moulded into a new Arab form and important additions made before it was translated into French in 1701 by Antoine Ballan. In Spain, the poet Juan Rubith was influenced by the *Makamat* Hai Ibn Yakthan's story had a clear effect on *Robinson Crusoe* and so did the *Riscilit Al Ghufran* on *The Divine Comedy*

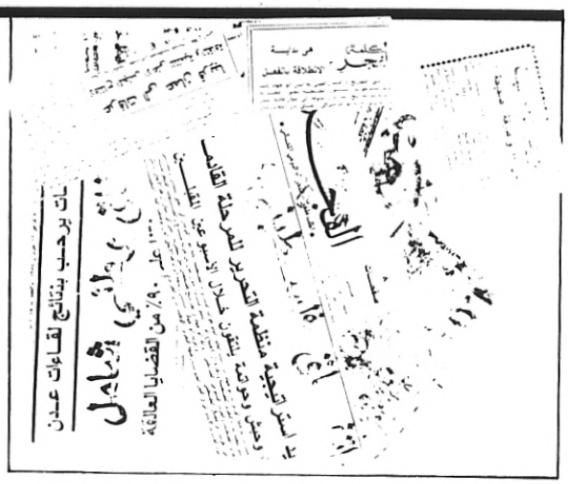
Our ancient literature had greater universality than our modern literature. Orientalists paid great attention to it. *Al-Mu'allaqat*, and the *One Thousand and One Nights* were translated into many languages. Many stories and tales of other nations were also translated into Arabic. Modern literature did not win enough attention, though some orientalists translated selections from modern Arabic verse, novels, drama and short stories. In fact, the Arabic translator is more capable of choosing works for translation. He has to choose carefully, especially because idiom still dominates many of our modern literary works and hinders translation.

Events in the Arab world at the beginning of this century affected the development of Arabic literature and its universality. Writers, especially beginning authors, tried to provide the means of development of literature. They turned to modern techniques and other schools of thought to fulfil their spiritual and artistic needs. The most important factor was the authors' desire to nourish their literature with trends that emerged after the revolution against conventional writing. The migration of some authors to the Americas was another factor that left its impact on Arabic literature. Colonialism also had its effect in strengthening relations betwwen Arabic and European literature. Invasion and colonialism often lead the conquered people to know the conqueror who tries to dominate him. The trips by orientalists to the Arab world and their writings opened the eyes of authors in their field of specialization. Arabic newspapers very often studied, analysed and translated these works. Translations, trips, printing, the press and the theatre movement were all important factors that acquainted foreigners with our literature.

Influence in these fields was comprehensive and it created competition in the fields of literature, thought and the press.

The Nobel prize in literature has become the modern criterion of the universality of any literature. When an Arab intellectual applies this criterion to Arabic literature, he discovers a series of problems: lack of translation of our literature into other languages, lack of reference books and encyclopaedias on Arabic literature. Neither are we so skilled in choosing the best of our ancient and modern literature to offer to the world. Our ancient Arabic literature contains many literary works worthy of translation into other languages. The anecdotes of al-Jahez, Abu Hayyan al-Tawhidi, al-Farabi and Ibn Sina are no less important than the masterpieces of Aristotle, Plato, Horace, Petrarch and others. Many modern Arab works are characterized by tremendous originality and are quite capable of attracting the attention of readers of other literature.

WINDOW ON THE ARAB PRESS



Local Palestinian newspapers welcomed the Aden agreement between the major PLO factions and encouraged all to back the new agreement. The hijacking of a Beirut-bound ferry to Haifa and the detention of its passengers received wide coverage with front-page photos of the Cypriot ship anchored in Haifa. All local papers covered the shooting of five Palestinian youngsters on a trip. *Al Fajr* and *Al Quds* did not appear for two days and *Al Shaab* did not appear three days as newspaper employees took holidays for the Muslim *Id el Fitr*.

Dialogue for the Sake of Unity

The aim of all recent Palestinian, Arab and international meetings and efforts was to restore the PLO unity on the basis of the Algerian summit resolutions.

If there are differences in the attempts to achieve that unity, that is something legitimate if it does not go beyond the basic resolutions passed in Algeria. It is unrealistic to seek unity of procedures and frameworks at the expense of political unity reflected in the resolutions of the 16th PNC session.

True, the postponement of convening the Palestinian National Council might give the negative impression of a divided PLO, but the negative impact would be immeasurably greater if the PNC convened in the absence of unity and prior to a comprehensive national accord.

It is fair to let efforts take their course. The July 5 meeting may, perhaps, reactivate the PLO institutions. This would not mean the perpetuation of division. This is what might happen if the PNC is convened before a comprehensive accord is achieved.

If a political and organisational agreement is achieved in Aden, the continuation of dialogue, on that basis, is necessitated by the need for unity. It should be governed by the realisation that the time factor is also important. The shorter the time, the shorter the way to eliminating the negative consequences of divisions.

The Palestinian national movement has an opportunity to restore unity to its ranks. It should not allow that opportunity to slip.

AL TALIA
June 28

Lebanon is Healing its Wounds and Invaders Lose Their Wits

The Lebanese capital witnessed, during the last two days, a number of important developments that made Prime Minister Rashid Karameh express hope that these days are the beginning of the end of the Lebanese civil war.

The most significant development is the appointment of General Michel Aoun as commander of the army with the concurrence of the Lebanese government and the various conflicting political trends. Another significant development is the formation of the Supreme Military Council chaired by President Amin Gemayel, and the endorsement of the security plan aimed at spreading the army's control over all Beirut – west and east – and putting an end to the activities of all military militias – factional or partisan – in the Lebanese capital.

We happily received the news that quiet prevails over all sectors of Beirut.

Reports say that various ministers have begun to function. Coordination has also started between ministers representing national forces, Walid Jumblatt and Nabih Berri, and the ministers representing the Isolationist rightist camp. President Gemayel said to Jumblatt and Berri when they met two days ago: "We are one Lebanese people. The government reflects the unity of our people and it will serve all our people and help them overcome the present ordeal through closest cooperation with Syria." The new Chief of Staff, General Aoun, said in the same meeting: "The Lebanese army will, from now on, be the army of the whole nation. We will do our best to ensure that there are no military factional groups on the soil of Lebanon."

These developments, which we want enhanced and developed, are driving the rulers of Israel out of their wits, if they have any left!

The last four days have seen Israeli terror flights over Lebanon, including Beirut. The ports of Sidon and Tyre have been closed. Every sea contact between South Lebanon and the north has been cut off. There has also ben an unprecedented escalation in the occupation's oppressive measures, supported by the forces of the agent Antoine Lahad.

The Israeli rulers are trying through this terrorist escalation against Lebanon to reverse the positive development. But the will to live and the will of the people to restore stability to Lebanon is stronger than the murdering invaders and their destructive schemes.

These days witness the official burying of the mad adventure of the Israeli rulers in Lebanon. What they thought to be an easy prey turned out to be a thorn in their hearts and throats.

This is proof that we are not living in an age of piracy. It is the age of victory for the free national will of the people.

AL ITTIHAD
June 28

The Beginning of The Start

A statement was made by Abu Jihad, deputy commander of the Palestinian revolution forces and member of Fatah Central Committee, upon his arrival in Amman, that an agreement has been reached in Aden. The agreement means that a new era of common Palestinian action has begun and it embodies the hopes we have pinned on the meetings of the third round of the Aden dialogue.

The agreement will perpetuate PLO unity and enhance its legitimate institutions. It is also a source of pride for the Palestinian participants in the dialogue because they have been able to block any attempts at intervention in the internal affairs of the Palestinians. The most important among them is the independence of Palestinian decision-making. This agreement should be well protected.

We would like to thank the ruling socialist party in South Yemen and the Algerian National Liberation Front for their noble sympathy with the Palestinian cause, demonstrated through their zealous contribution to the success of the dialogue. We hope that other Arab regimes will follow the example of these two Arab states. They can contribute by supporting the PLO which is the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people.

We should never forget that our cause is going through hard times. This requires us to reinforce the Aden agreement by showing more cohesion between the Palestinian factions and Fatah movement.

We hope the PNC will convene soon to take decisive fateful decisions commensurate with the coming phase of action.

AL FAJR
June 29

Palestinian National Unity Feast

The historic achievement of the Aden dialogue will make us celebrate two occasions: the feast of *al-Fitr* [the end of *Ramadan*] and the feast of Palestinian national unity.

This achievement, containing a political and organisational agreement within the legitimate Palestinian frameworks, is welcomed by our people and their friends. We would like to record the following remarks:

* This achievement is a victory for the unity of our people within the PLO framework. It is a victory for Palestinian legitimacy which was exposed, together with its leader and symbol, Abu Ammar, to the worst conspiracy to liquidate and contain it.

* The two parts of this agreement answer all inquiries and issues that appeared in the Palestinian arena last year. It is the basis for convening the PNC which is almost certain to meet before the end of July. In a few days, meetings in Algeria and Tunis will take place in preparation for the PNC convention. This constitutes the beginning of a new phase of Palestinian action which will be distinguished by momentum and effectiveness that will reinforce Palestinian legitimacy.

* This agreement, after months of hard work, must be a lesson that there is no alternative to national unity, independence of Palestinian decision-making, and support of Palestinian legitimacy. It also emmphasised that democratic dialogue is the only acceptable means to the people.

* The agreement is the fruit of the people's solid stand by the legitimate Palestinian leadership, with Abu Ammar as its symbol.

* The political and organisational agreements to be ratified in the 17th session of the PNC constitute the guideline of Palestinian action that should be honoured by all factions.

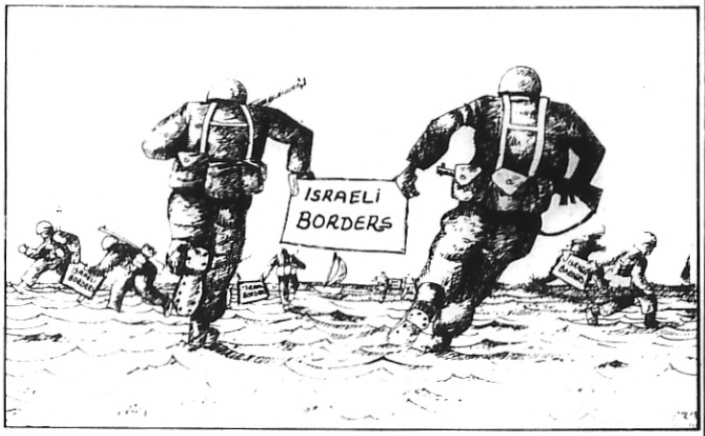
* The agreement means that Trojan horses in the Palestinian arena have been given their real sizes. It also means the reinforcement of the PLO to counter Arab regimes' attempts to place it under guardianship. It specifically means that the Palestinians are more capable now of correcting and normalising relations with Syria in a way that guarantees the independence of the Palestinian decision.

* If there is anyone who was saddened and disturbed by this agreement, he must be an enemy of our people or belong to one of the politically immature groups that cling to slogans. He should realise that the future is for those who won the confidence of the people through real sincere service.

This agreement means the end of the state of worry and division in the Palestinian arena. It is a real victory for our people.

AL SHA'AB
June 29

The 'Promised Sea'



US Citizen Held 4 Days In Ramallah Prison

A US citizen of Palestinian origin on vacation in the West Bank spent four days last week in Ramallah military prison for interrogation. His release was secured June 29 after US consulate officials intervened.

Harbi Alian, 40, a St. Louis, Missouri grocer, arrived in al-Bireh recently with his wife and four children to spend the summer vacation with relatives. He received a summons to go to Ramallah police station June 25 and when he didn't return his family notified a lawyer.

The legal adviser to the military government told lawyer Jonathan Kuttab that Alian was arrested for "suspicion of subversive activity," although no arrest warrant was produced.

"My husband has no involvement in any political activity whatsoever," his wife said. Alian was held in solitary confinement and during his interrogation Alian was kept handcuffed and hooded. An official from the US consulate in East Jerusalem was permitted to visit on his third day of detention in the Ramallah prison.

The military's legal adviser assured Kuttab that his client would be released in time to celebrate the *Id al-Fitr* Muslim feast. Family sources say the arrest was based on false information given to police by a personal enemy of Alian. In April an American Palestinian, also on vacation, was held 22 days in Ramallah prison without charges. US diplomats intervened.

Militias Withdraw Weapons; Leave Army in Beirut

Over 9000 Lebanese army soldiers began July 3 to restore security and once again reunite the Lebanese capital. The army deployment was part of a Lebanese government-sponsored security plan which included the withdrawal of heavy weapons and the disappearance of the various militias.

Lebanese soldiers of the Sixth and Ninth brigade knocked down cement and sand barricades that have long divided Beirut and dug out land mines. Members of the Sixth brigade stationed in the airport will supervise the reopening of the international airport July 6 while soldeirs of the Ninth brigade will direct the reopening of the seaport.

June 30 members of the predominantly Druze Progressive Socialist Party were the first militias to pull out their heavy weapons from Beirut. The action by Jumblatt's Party was followed by similar withdrawal by the predominately Shi'ite Amal movement and lastly the Phalangists' Lebanese Forces. Other weapons were placed in warehouses guarded by French and Lebanese army observers.

The security demilitarisation plan for the greater Beirut area is scheduled to be followed by similar plans in the Shouf mountains and the Beka'a valley.

Observers in Beirut credit the efforts of Syrian vice-president Abdel Halim Khaddam for the implementation of the plan. During his visit to Beirut last month Khaddam was successful in convincing the three major warring parties of the agreement.

Some reports said that the appointment of General Michel Aoun, a Maronite, to head the reconstituted army also helped.

While Lebanese government officials were pleased with their efforts in Beirut, the situation in Tripoli worsened. Fighting in the northern Lebanese city resulted in at least 17 deaths and scores of injuries.

Wire services said that fighting between the pro-Syrian Arab Democratic Party and the anti-Syrian Islamic Unification movement was especially violent.

Journalists covering the Tripoli events said that the heavy shelling was causing damage to buildings in the eastern quarters of Tripoli and parts of the historic Sunjiqdar market. *Al Liwa'* Lebanese daily said that about 100 civilians have been trapped in their homes with no protection from the heavy shelling.

Leaders in the Tripoli Higher Coordination Committee have been attempting to end the fighting locally. The committee, which includes members of the various militias, says that the recent fighting erupted following a single incident by warring militias.

Tripoli's Sheikh Said Sh'aban, head of the Islamic Unification Party, appealed to the Syrian president to interfere to stop the bloodshed in Tripoli. Sh'aban's appeal, which was published in Lebanese newspapers, called upon President Assad not to allow internal conflicts in Syria to spill over into Tripoli.

Short-changed Israeli Workers Walk Off Jobs

Strikes by Israeli engineers, firemen, oil refinery workers, rabbinical court workers, TV and radio workers and foreign ministry employees has brought the chronic crisis of the Israeli economy to a paralytic halt.

The strikes, which have been following one upon the other over the last several months and are forcing the Israeli government to issue back-to-work orders, threaten to last until the Israeli July 23 elections.

60,000 engineers and university graduates started their protest action July 2 causing thousands of dollars loss to private and public institutions due to sporadic power shortages throughout Israel and many parts of the occupied territories which the military government plugged into the Israeli grid. The electric cuts disrupted work in hospitals, threatened to endanger water supplies in Jerusalem and cut off traffic lights.

Israeli firemen continued their strike which began July 1 but Haifa fireworkers returned to work after the Interior Ministry undertook to discuss wage parity with Jerusalem and Tel Aviv workers. The deal in Haifa came after firemen refused to put out a fire on Mt. Carmel.

TV and Radio journalists who blacked out the airwaves last weekend returned to work but TV adminstrative workers managed to block the presentation of the Arabic and Hebrew news broadcasts July 4. The strikers are demanding parity with print journalists.

Israelis filing for divorce and other dealings with the Rabbinical court were turned away July 3 by rabbinical court workers. They are demanding that the government honours a promise to give them parity with civil court employees.

With the Israeli inflation rate close to a 1000 percent per annum, strikes are expected to continue indefinitely.

Neturei Karta Attacks Gush Emunim

A major campaign to publicise to the Arab community the differences between anti-Zionist Orthodox Jews and Zionist Orthodox Jews was launched recently, by the Jerusalem-based Neturei Karta movement.

The publicity campaign, which was mandated by the seven-man supreme council of Neturei Karta June 26, was prompted by an Egyptian newspaper article identifying all Orthodox Jewish school children with Gush Emunim-like expansionist mentality.

Hirsch defined Gush Emunim as a "group of immature upstarts who are labeled 'orthodox' and possess 'rabbis' in their ranks, who have teamed up with the power-hungry revisionist expansionists in order to further their domineering policy over the Holy Land. They cite the Scriptures in order to pacify their unholy and unorthodox deeds."

CALENDER OF EVENTS

AT THE NUZHA/EL-HAKAWATI THEATRE (Jerusalem, Tel 288189) July 6 and 7:

Theatre: Al-Amal al Sha'abi in "*The Other Colour*" 8 pm (Arabic)

July 12

Film *All That Jazz* 7:00 and 9:15 pm

WORK CAMP

The international Deir el Assad Work camp will be held between July 26 and August 6. For information call 04-987080 or 987078.

THIS WEEK'S CENSORSHIP

Following is a breakdown of censorship cuts for issue 218, July 6, 1984:

Number of original articles submitted to censors	17
Number of articles totally censored out	3
Number of articles mutilated beyond use	1
Number of articles partially censored but used	7
Number or articles passed	6

WEEKLY REVIEW

Mothers of Damoun prisoners protest in front of the Red Cross with their sons against the recent attack on prisoners. July 3, 1984 /AO photo.

June 27, 1984

DENTIST JAILED FOR MEMBERSHIP

RAMALLAH — Military court in Ramallah sentenced Dr Khalil al Husari, a member of the Dentists Union in the West Bank, to one-and-a-half years in prison and one-and-a-half years suspended, on charges of membership in an illegal organisation and training in the use of arms. He has been under arrest since May 4, 1984

JAIL FOR COCKTAIL; FINE FOR BOOTS

JENIN — Military court in Jenin sentenced Sultan Abd ar-Rahim Abu Husan, from al-Sileh al-Harthiya, to eight months in prison on charges of making a Molotov cocktail. The court also sentenced Ahmad Afif Abdullah Zakarneh, from Jenin, to pay a fine of IS3000 on charges of wearing old Israeli army boots.

NEW QUARTERS FOR PRISONERS

Israeli authorities are moving the Palestinian security detainees from Beer Saba prison to the new prison in Nablus.

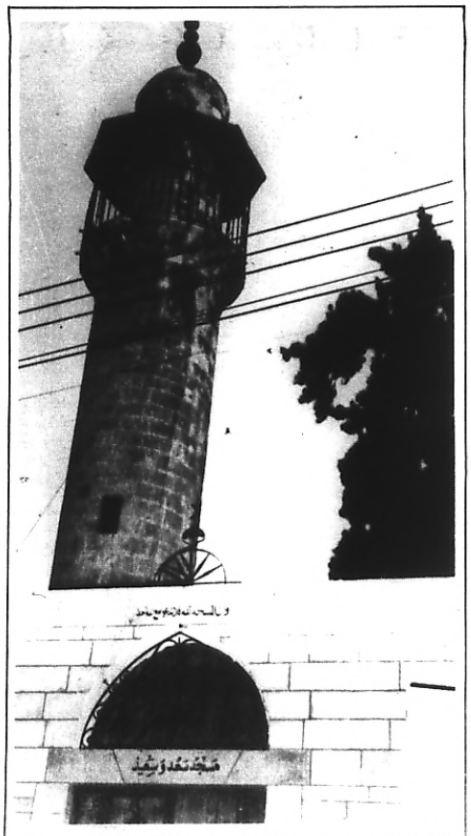
TAMI WANTS GHETTO SETTLEMENT

Tami movement wants to establish a settlement for North African Jews in the Jerusalem area. Negotiations were held on land in the Radar area, near Biddo. Land near Kufr Aqab village near al-Bireh is now being considered, however.

JUNE 28, 1984

MOSQUE BROKEN INTO

JERUSALEM — Unknown persons broke into Sa'd wa-Sa'id Mosque on Nablus Road on the green line separating territory occuppied in 1967 from that occupied in 1948. A microphone, a radio and recorder set, two carpets, IS5000 and JD35 and a wall clock were stolen.



Mosque of Sa'd and Sa'id was robbed by unknown persons July 28, 1984. /AO photo.

TOWN ARRESTS RENEWED

Israeli authorities summoned Musa Jaradat, *Al Fajr* journalist, and Fathi Abd al-Aziz Jaradat, a second year student at Hebron University, and informed them that their town arrests have been renewed for another six months. They are to report to the police station in Hebron once a week. Both are from Sa'ir near Hebron.

IMPRISONMENT FOR JENIN RESIDENT

NABLUS — Military court in Nablus sentenced Sameh Mohammed Radif, from Jenin, to 18 months in prison and 30 months suspended, on charges of membership in the PLO.

YOUTH GETS 15 MONTHS

Military court in Ramallah sentenced Ahmad Ali Shqairat, from as-Sawahri ash-Sharqiyyah, to 15 months in prison on security charges.

2000 BOOKS TO AL-NAJAH

NORWAY — Oslo University notified al-Najah University Friends Society, that it has donated more than 2000 books to the University.

SOME BARRICADES REMOVED

The authorities reopened two entrances to Dheisheh refugee camp after a closure of more than three years. Two other entrances are still closed. UNRWA sources said that an entrance to al-Arroub refugee camp will be reopened

THREE YOUTHS SENTENCED TO JAIL

Military court in Ramallah sentenced Imad ad-Din Hamid Shehadeh to three-and-a-half years in prison and one-and-a-half years suspended. Ali Sulaiman Yunis Mahdat was sentenced to three years in prison and two years suspended. Fadel Mohammed al-Hamayel was sentenced to one-and-a-half years in prison and three-and-a-half years suspended. They were accused of membership in *al-Jihad*, said to be a militant nationalist Islamic organisation, and of training in the use of arms.

June 2, 1984

HEBRON BUS STATION SETTLEMENT

Israeli daily Davar reported that Kiryat Arba settlers are preparing trailers for a move into the Hebron bus station in the

HIGH SCHOOL STUDENT REMANDED

NAZARETH — Nazareth court extended the remand of high school student Arafat Habib Allah, from Ain Mahel village, for four more days. The police charged the student with planning to block the main street in the village on Land Day.

JOURNALIST MOHAMMED AMIREH — TOWN ARREST RENEWED

Israeli military authorities in Nablus renewed town arrest for *Al Quds'* Nablus correspondent Mohammed Amireh for six months. He must report to the police station daily.

SHOTS IN JORDAN VALLEY

Israeli military sources said that shots were exchanged last night between the passengers in an Israeli vehicle and unknown armed men in al-Ghur [Jordan Rift] area. The incident took place at 11:30 pm. The Israeli army imposed a curfew on the villages of Majdal al-Bani, Fadel and Qusra for a short time.

ARAB QUISLING OFFICIALS FOR MAYORS

Israeli daily *Hadashot* reported that the Israeli 'civil administration' [in the West Bank] is considering the possibility of appointing a number of senior Arab employees in the 'civil administration' to the posts of elected mayors.

Children play with toys in a garden adjacent to Damascus Gate during [illegible] July 1, 1984

FOOTBALL GAME IN HONOUR OF AL-ASSAD

Syrian flags were hoisted on the occasion of *Id al-Fitr* at Majdal Shams village in the Golan. A football gamewas also held in honour of Syrian President Hafez al-Assad.

TOWN ARREST RENEWED ON LAWYER

NABLUS — Israeli military authorities renewed the town arrest imposed on Nablus lawyer Ghassan Walid Shaka'a for another six months. This is the sixth renewal of his town arrest order.

July 3, 1984

GALILEE PROTESTS KACH

GALILEE — The Regional Committee of the heads of local Arab authorities held an emergency meeting at Shafa 'Amer, in the Galilee. The Committee will discuss the financial crisis of the local authorities and press reports that members of Meir Kahane's gang intend to settle in the Galilee and Triangle. The head of the Regional Committee, Ibrahim Nimr Hussein, said that the Arab local authorities will stage strikes and demonstrations to protest Kahane's provocations.

QUMSIYEH SON ADMITS MURDER

Israeli newspaper *Al Hamishmar* reported that one of Bishara Qumsiyeh's sons, a deputy of former Hebron Village Leaguer Mustafa Dudin, admitted during investigation two murders in the Bethlehem area. Two of Bishara's bodyguards are linked to the two crimes, which took place two years ago because of a political conflict in the collaborationist Leagues.

Damascus Gate during *Id al-Fitr*. /AO photo.

Thoma Shick Witnesses:

Syrian POWs On Their Way Home

Accidentally, I happened to be with a group of friends from the US in Majdal Shams on the day of the Israeli-Syria exchange! Our host, in spite of a pre-arranged appointment, was not at home. On the road we met a demonstration-sized crowd of festively dressed people in the nearby village of Mas'ada, accompanied by police . We wondered. At Majdal Shams, the people on the street were in festive spirits. Crowds of school children surrounded us when we stepped off the bus, and here we heard for the first time about the event taking place a few kilometres away. People were beaming with rejoicing and expectation.

After three pm, a convoy of some ten cars, including a bus, was making its way to Mas'ada. Every metre or so some more cars joined in. Crowds of people gathered on the hillside near the road, singing and dancing as the cars passed by and jumping into cars in order to join the convoy. Police, military police and border police vans and an International Committee of the Red Cross car were part of the convoy too, of course.

On arrival at Mas'ada, women threw rice on the convoy as a sign of welcome as more cars joined the row of vehicles. On a roof-top laundry line hung a red shirt, black trousers, white underwear and a green sweater.

The climax of the event was of course at the entrance to Majdal Shams, near the fuel station, where the convoy stopped and the liberated prisoners descended from the bus, not before an extended final delay, most probably for coordinating the liberation process with the prisoner exchange still taking place at that time in Quneitra.

The crowd only wanted their dear ones, who were finally carried on shoulders towards the hill at the township's centre, while crowds ran to receive them. Eight men returned home.

A Druze soldier celebrating his release with his family after the exchange between Syria and Israel.

An Israeli border police command car temporarily blocked the entrance to Mas'ada village. The group in the picture is American, peace research tourists who coincidentally visited the Golan at the time of the exchange.

A Terrorist Organisation - By Israeli Law

B. Michael/HaAretz

I have no doubt that my enlightened government is extremely worried by the expressions of sympathy towards members of the Jewish terrorist organisation. I am also convinced that the organising done on their behalf, the fund-raising and the chilling statements made widely, must disturb its sleep.

I have no doubt that my government is aware of the horrifying danger threatening Israeli democracy. All the more because all this relates to a government that has proved in recent days how enthusiastic it is to adopt the High Court's statement that "democracy is rightful and even *obliged* to defend itself."

I am also totally certain that my government is enthusiastic to assist the legal system in its task, to shorten the ill-treating delay of sentence and to facilitate the mills of justice to work more efficiently. I am a man with a message to my government: There is a way! Israeli law has put into its hands a legal instrument to obtain the above-mentioned — both to end the expressions of sympathy and to facilitate the legal system and also to protect democracy.

The instrument is called Article 8 of the *Ordinance for the Elimination of Terror 1948*, (that is the same Ordinance under which all the Jewish terrorist organisation's defendants are accused). Article 8 reads, under the title, "The Government's Declaration on a Terrorist Organisation":

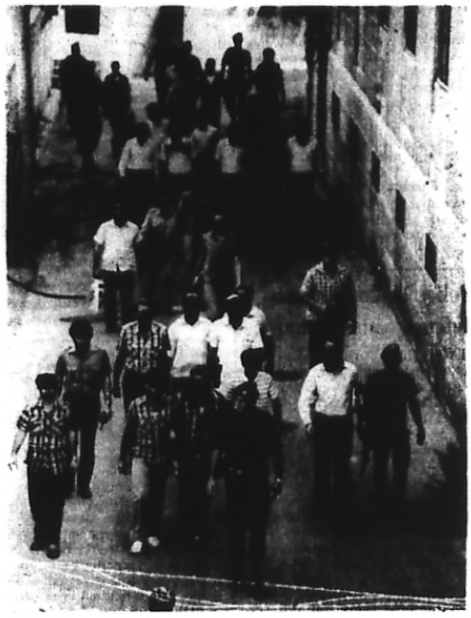
"8. If the Government declares, an announcement in *Reshumot* (the Isreali Official Gazette — tr) that a certain group of people is a terrorist organisation, the announcement will serve as evidence in any legal dispute, that that group of people is a terrorist organisation, except if the opposite is proved." (It is remarkable that the law defines what is a terrorist organisation and the Jewish underground fulfills all the criteria):

The government has already used this authority, without hesitation. For example, on October 12, 1980, the government declared, by its authority according to this article, that 14 various organisations were terrorist organisations, *beginning with the Palestine Liberation Organisation and ending with Naji al-Alush's Popular Arab Liberation Movement* If anyone would dare to claim that there should be no equity between Arab organisations and Jewish organisations, there is no need even to blame them for racism or inequality before the law or any other moralist arguments. In the past the government did not hesitate in declaring also Jewish organisations as terrorist organisations. On September 20, 1984 the government of Israel published the following statement in *Rashumot*:

According to Regulation 8 of the Ordinance for the Elimination of Terror 1948, the government decided to declare, and is hereby declaring, that the group known by the name of Lahamey Herut Israel (LEHI) and the group that calls itself Hazit HaMoledet (The Homeland's Front) are terrorist organisations

By the order of the Temporary Government, Ze'er Scherf (Official Gazette — 'Iton Rishme — NO 22, p 142)

I wonder whether this statement was ever cancelled. Beyond the declarative, informative and educational value that this statement bears, clarifying once and forever what is my government's standpoint on the matter of the Jewish terrorist organisation, it also has very important practical implications. First, the issue would shorten the legal process for the defendants and would transfer the burden of proof on them.



Above: 25 Jewish underground terrorists in Jerusalem's district court. Their identities remained annonymos for 40 days.

Below: Convicted Jewish underground member Gil'ad Peli who confessed to membership in a terrorist group.

There will be some who will be forced to prove that they *are not* members in a terrorist organisation. However, this is a matter only for jurists. More importantly, are the public aspects. From the moment it was determined that terrorist organisation exists, further articles of the Ordinance, become activated. The most important and real of them, Article 4, reads:

Support to a Terrorist Organisation (excerpts)

"A person (a) who publishes, in writing or speaking, words of praise, sympathy or encouragement for acts of violence that might cause death or injury to a person or (b) who publishes, in writing or speaking, words of praise or calls for help or support for a terrorist organisation; or (c) who possesses, for the sake of a terrorist organisation, propaganda material; or (d) who gives money or material for the sake of a terrorist organisation; or (e) who commits an act that constitutes an expression of identification with a terrorist organisation or sympathy to it...or any other deed of similar expression that clearly discloses identification or sympathy, as mentioned — all these in a public place or in a manner that people who are present in the public place may see or hear such disclosure of identification or sympathy — will be charged of an offence and if found guilty in court, will be liable for punishment of up to three years imprisonment."

Finally, my government will be able to fight successfully against all the chilling expressions of sympathy for the Jewish terrorist organisation, to snip every bud of other terrorist organisations and to protect, enthusiastically and energetically (as is its manner), Israeli democracy. All the donors, collectors, sympathisers, support-organisers, leaflet-letters, who justify, explain, 'understand,' will know from now on that they are violating the law and can expect punishment. (Some of them indeed enjoy parliamentary immunity, but this too is part of democracy's price. What can we do?)

Of course, I have no doubt that my enlightened government will not shrink from using its authority according to Article 8, but if, nevertheless, it does prevent itself, I am sorry to say that it is doing nothing but postponing the inevitable. Even without an official declaration by the government that the Jewish underground is a terrorist organisation, it will be determined as such, against its will and against the government's will. (Perhaps it has *already* been declared as such by force of the conviction of defendant Gil'ad Pel'i for membership in a terrorist organisation). Article 11 of the Ordinance for the Elimination of Terror reads:

11 If it is stated in a final court decision that a certain group is a terrorist organisation, the sentence will act in all other legal disputes as potential evidence that that group is a terrorist organisation.

Gil'ad Pel'i was convicted of membership. The verdict is considered from now on as potential evidence that that group of which Gil'ad was a member — is a terrorist organisation. (His anticipated appeal to the High Court will be only about the measure of punishment and not about the verdict itself. In any case, this is only a matter of time). Therefore, there is no escape — gentlemen, members of the government, Mr Legal Adviser. Every sympathiser, justifier and donor is a criminal offender of the law. And how does the law read? — "will be liable for punishment of up to three years imprisonment."

It is important to tell the government only one thing: not using your authority according to Article 8 of the Ordinance for the Elimination of Terror will be registered, and will serve as evidence against you. (Translation: HaAretz, June 24, 1984, B. Michael)

[Editor's postscript: Convicted Jewish underground member Gil'ad Pel'i, who was sentenced to 10 years in prison for his deeds, this week declared that he wanted to withdraw his confession to membership in the terror group. His confession and conviction was the first public acknowledgement that such a group existed and was important as a precedent in hearing subsequent cases.]